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**GANDHI**  
**Voice of the New Revolution.**



**Gandhi**  
**Voice of the New Revolution.**  
**A STUDY OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN INDIA.**

By  
**Blanche Watson**  
With a Foreword by  
**Rev. John Haynes Holmes.**

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MAHĀTMA GANDHI



"Non-violence can be said to have succeeded only when we show the miracle of non-violence to the many : the miracle can be performed only with quiet, with peacefulness."

*M. K. Gandhi.*



## **FOREWARD.**

Mahatma Gandhi, of India, leader in that country of the "Non-co-operation" movement for independence, if judged by the spiritual standards established by the prophetic souls of history, must be regarded as the greatest man living in the world to-day. He is properly to be classified, I suppose, with such nationalistic leaders as Wallace, Washington, Emmet, Kossuth, and Mazzini ; but by sheer power of personality, depth of insight, sweep of vision, purity of character, heroic devotion to ideals and utter trust in the higher attributes of the spirit, he lifts himself to the exalted, if lonely, plane of such men as the Nazarine and his own compatriot, the Buddha. No man now living is so certain of a universal immortality as he,—yet few men are so little known outside the borders of their own land !

The reasons for our ignorance of Gandhi in this western world are not far to seek. In the first place his fields of action, South

Africa and India, are distant and therefore remote from our observation and acquaintanceship. Secondly, his fame, sprung from life-long battle against the British Empire has been given no wings by the authorities that control the contemporary machinery of information. The present "propaganda" attempts to belittle and slander this noble leader of an ancient race, mark the breakdown of what has been hitherto a successful policy of silence. Lastly, Gandhi's life is lived in the light of that ideal of non-resistance which seems so quixotic to the average occidental mind as to be thought unworthy of attention, much less of veneration. Leo Tolstoy, alone of modern men, by the gigantic power of his intellect and the insistent drama of his personal life, forced this sublime practise of the soul upon the conscience of mankind.

It is pleasing to an American to know / Gandhi got inspiration from our own Henry David Thoreau, two of whose books the Indian leader recommends for study. It is

a lovely thing, too, to recall that Tolstoy, ere he died, recognised Gandhi as a kindred spirit and reached hand and heart to him across the continental reaches that held them apart. The letter of the great Russian stands as a word of blessing from the older to the younger man, and an enduring witness to Gandhi's true succession in the line of spiritual prophecy. It points as well to the momentous significance of the Indian's work. For what with Tolstoy was a single life, has become with Gandhi a national movement. What was gloriously exemplified by the Russian as a rule of individual conduct has been here marvellously transformed into a method of social revolution. Gandhi attempts what has never been attempted in human history,—the organization of a whole people for the use, not of force but love, to the end of political and economic emancipation. He would redeem society, as religion has from the beginning undertaken to redeem the single soul, by the transfiguring power of goodwill.

Whether Gandhi will succeed in his great venture is the most thrilling as it is the most momentous question before the world at this moment. Opposed to him are the power and cunning of British imperialism, the international jealousies, and natural antagonisms of the Indian people, the age-old tradition of violence, and the easy inertia of human nature. With him there moves the tidal sweep of the oriental genius, the magic mysticism of the Indian soul. At a time when the West is sinking into the the chaos of its own mad making is there any greater or better hope for human-kind than this sublime endeavor of the East to find a basis for social and political life ? Is it too much to say that upon the success of Gandhi hangs the destiny of our race ?

Of Americans who know something about Mahatma Gandhi and his movement, the author of this pamphlet, Miss Watson, stands among the first. From native Indians in this country, from Indian newspapers, magazines, and books, by careful study and

persistent inquiry, she has accumulated a wealth of first-hand information of unusual accuracy and value. Her essay can be trusted and should be widely read.

November 8, 1921. John Haynes Holmes.

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#### Extract from Tolstoy's Letter.

"The longer I live, and especially now, when I vividly feel the nearness of death, I want to tell others what I feel so particularly clearly and what to my mind is of particular importance—namely, that which is passive resistance, but which is in reality nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretations. That love is then highest and only law of human life, and in the depth of his soul every human being (as we most clearly see in children) feels and knows this.....This law was proclaimed by all—by the Indian as by

the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the world.

I think this law was most clearly expressed by Christ, who plainly said that, 'In this only is all the law and prophets'....He knew as every sensible man must know, that the use of force is incompatible with love as the fundamental law of life, that as soon as violence is permitted, in whichever case it may be, the insufficiency of the law of love is acknowledged, and by this very law is denied....And so your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part."

Katchety, September 7, 1910.

## G A N D H I.

*By Angela Morgan.*

Not with a clamor of golden deed,  
Nor girth with brazen armor doth he come ;  
Nor heralds trumpet him on royal steeds,  
His armies follow not with martial drum,  
Nor sword, nor shield, nor helmet hath he known,  
Whose sun but now hath risen in its place,  
Whose kingdom cometh grandly to its own  
Mid the eternal triumphs of the race.

Have you at times been swept beyond all creed  
By some new-dawning vision of the right ?  
Your mind ablaze with thoughts of "human need,"  
Drawn heaven-ward within a wakeful night ?  
Have you said then your faint soul strong at last  
"Whatever be the torture of this gaol,  
Here and here only shall my lot be cast—  
This is the plan God fashioned for my soul !"

Then look on Gandhi, Hindu saint and seer ;  
Lo, in the living flesh behold your vow—  
The ancient Truth grown intimate and near  
That God may find his Image, here and now,

Here is the heart that dares defy the strain  
And ~~terror~~ of conditions as they are ;  
Here is the sturdy will, immune to pain,  
Here is the soul that become a star.

Here is the noble intellect that saw  
Beyond the spasm of our human lust  
The silent grandeur of eternal law,  
Wheeling its winged way above our dust,  
And linked his being with that lofty theme  
And ordered all his ways that he might find  
Out of the infinite, a way supreme  
To bring immortal justice for his kind.

How like a sun he shines above our ~~dearth~~ !  
How like a man he learns unto the earth.  
He is the answer to your faith and mine—  
May by his love for man, become divine.

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## GANDHI

# VOICE OF THE NEW REVOLUTION.

*"Swaraj of Hindustan lies hidden in the Spinning-wheel."*

These words of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the politico-religious leader and seer of India, have proved to be magic words. Thus he embarked upon the program for the destruction of the prestige of British trade in his country—for trade is the foundation of British control there.

India not only accepts the dictum that “cloth is king”, but insists that India shall make her own cloth. Realizing that the spinning-wheel was the gun that shot right at the heart of the long-continued dependence of his country, he set about reviving the ancient industries of the Indians in order that he might draw out the real self of the nation, and break the power of an

alien rule which for a hundred and sixty years had been sapping the vitality of his people. "Back to the Spinning-wheel," was a call to India to return to itself. It was a call to revolution.

This leader, of what is perhaps the strangest revolutionary movement of all time, has decreed that refusal to help the ruling class to rule shall take the place of mobilization ; that love shall take the place of bitterness and ill will,—that his people shall pay for their freedom in the coin of suffering. Gandhi's weapon is simply organized non-cooperation,—in other words non-recognition of the law, with absolute refusal to use violence of any sort. This, Gandhi claims, is a terrible weapon—to be used only by those who are prepared to lose all, even life itself !

#### SWA-RAJ VS. THE BRITISH RAJ.

It is a sort of amplified glorified boycott, and its purpose is to paralyze the government that is in power, by having

nothing to do with it. It is a new agent of revolution through which British occupation of India will be made a thing of the past. It is Swa-Raj versus the British Raj. History can show no parallel to what is going on in that country to-day. Revolutions by force have been many. This is a revolution that depends not on strength of body but strength of soul. It is the old Indian ideal of Satyagraha, the holding fast at all cost to eternal Truth, that is supplying the resistance which no mere physical force can ever destroy.

"He who holds fast to Soul-force (says Gandhi) can never be conquered. He may die, but he dies a victor—true to himself and to his cause".

Ever since the East India Company first gained a foot-hold in India in the 18th century, India has been regarded by the British *as an instrument in the expansion of England*. Writing in 1882, nearly forty years ago, Sir John Seeley, a British historian said :

"There is then no Indian nationality, although there are some germs out of which we can conceive an Indian Nationality developing...If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there, only feebly, if—without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion, from that day almost, OUR EMPIRE WOULD CEASE TO EXIST...For it is a condition of our Indian Empire that it should be held without any great effort...The moment India began to show herself what we so idly imagine her to be—a conquered nation—that moment we should recognize perforce the impossibility of retaining her."

#### THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

Today, in India, this universal feeling of nationality has not only taken shape, but it is assuming enormous proportions.

## VOICE OF THE NEW REV

India—whose civilization was an accepted fact at a time when the people of Europe, clad in skins, were eating their food raw—India is arising in her might and saying : “We have been a power in years gone by and we are going to be again.” Gandhi had destroyed the fetish of the beneficence and permanence of the British trade, and is replacing it with the three-fold aspiration of self-discipline, self-reliance, and self-realization. Indians, to-day, are saying Leviticus-like :

“Thou shalt not expect the broken and plundered and raped and tortured to live side by side with their persecutors. It is confusion. It is abomination.”

Gandhi is responsible for this situation. He is awakening in the Indian people,—high and low, educated and uneducated, prince and peasant, Hindu and mohammedan, Brahmin and non-Brahmin—a moral consciousness and a spiritual fervour the like of which has not been known in modern

times. (He has started a movement that has gathered all India into its restless tide. He is creating the spirit of nationality, the want of which has kept a nation of 319, 000, 000 souls supine and impotent, under the almost inexplicable domination of something more than 100, 000 Englishmen.

(It is within the range of possibility that all men may in time fall under the spell of this man, who says, ‘I believe I have a mission for the world---to teach mankind the power of non-violence, the power of Right holding no sword or bayonet in her hand.’) And he says this to the world that in five years of war paid down at least twenty-five millions of lives as the price of peace,---the world that is to day arming to the teeth in “Preparedness *against* war”—a world that is setting its greatest scientists to invent even more efficient murderous gases and acids. He is saying to humanity everywhere, fight in *Christ's way* *not in Caesar's* by suffering and being killed if need be but not killing, by

the power of mind and soul, not with machine guns and bombs and poison gas. So said Terrance Macswiney, and in his death he proved the truth of his words--“Victory in this struggle for Ireland’s freedom is not to those who inflict but to those who can endure.”

It is natural to speak of the “Gandhi movement” and the “Gandhi program”, for now that a program has been evolved and a movement started it must perforce have a name; but as a matter of fact, Gandhi and his followers, like the Bolsheviks in Russia, merely sensed a situation and took command of a movement that had been shaping itself during many years, under various leaders. He is carrying forward the ideas of such men as G. K. Gokhale, whom Gandhi regards as his political teacher, and who enthusiastically seconded Gandhi’s efforts in South Africa. He is perfecting the plans of Dadabhai Naorojee of Bombay, former Member of Parliament, who at the Calcutta Congress of

1906, outlined the policy that was to make for complete independence for India. He is bringing to fruition the life-long labors of B. G. Tilak—called during his life “the uncrowned king of India”—who spent a decade of his life in prison for alleged sedition against the government. This man it was who gave a conspicuous impetus to the Swadeshi movement preaching the necessity of encouraging village organizations and such industries as the weaving of cloth, which was in effect the planting of the seed of the Non-co-operation movement.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM LEADERSHIP.

Sharing the leadership with Gandhi are the brothers Ali, Mohammed and Saukat, somewhere described as “big meat-eating Mohammedans”—a strange and rather amusing contrast to their ascetic, spiritual Hindu chief. There be those who say that the vows of non-violence taken by these two, sit lightly on their consciences. Be that as it may, they have given their word

that violence shall have no part in their activities as long as they are connected with the Non-co-operation movement. At the time of writing they are calling from their prison cell, "No violence, and Swaraj is assured." The mere fact that these men stand shoulder to shoulder with Gandhi marks perhaps the greatest achievement of this man, who is leading one-fifth of the world towards freedom, for it is symbolic of the union of the two great religious groups—the Hindus and the Mahammedans. When the reports of the projected partition of Turkey reached India, Gandhi appealed to the Mahammedans to support their Turkish brethren, pledging also the support of the Hindus. The response was instantaneous. Extremists joined with moderates, North joined south, and the Hindu-muslim entente, thanks to the Khilafat question, was a *fait accompli*. A new weapon had been placed in the hands of this advocate of Truth-force. And when Mahatma Gandhi spoke to the heart of India—"Be

free ! Be slaves no more !”—All India responded with the result that to-day hundreds are saying with him :—

“We have willed to become poor that India may become free ; We make ourselves small that India may be great ; we become weak that invincible strength may be hers.”

Strange as it may seem, ( though not strange, for every institution carries within itself the seeds of its own dissolution ) it was the partition of Bengal, engineered by Lord Curzon, that forced to the forefront the idea of Swaraj ( Self-government ) in contradistinction to the idea of Home Rule which at one time would have satisfied the Indian People. This action of an arrogant, egotistical official, obsessed by a greed for profits—(for Bengal divided meant the opportunity for increased taxation ) served to arouse Bengal to such a pitch of indignation and rebellion that all India could not but be affected. The shock that the British power received through

the Partition has never been equalled by any other of the countless oppressive acts of British officialdom. The nationality that Sir John Seeley foresaw and feared was from that time on an assured fact.

Nor was this Lord Curzon's only contribution to the revolutionary movement that is sweeping India to day. It was he who instigated the formation in 1906 of the All-India Muslim League, an organization intended by the Viceroy to support the Government and act in opposition to the Indian National Congress, (which body had been originally intended to secure redress of wrongs and certain political concessions—crumbs from the Government table.) But, as an Indian now in this country expressed it, "God had other and better uses for this body", and shortly after it was formed plans for the unification of the two were complete, resulting in a demand, supported by both organizations, for Swaraj.

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## OPPRESSIVE MEASURES FAN THE FLAMES OF DISCONTENT.

The Partition of Bengal was intended to weaken the growing solidarity of the Indian people, the Universities Act to cripple education, the Press Act to gag the press. They all served instead to further strengthen and crystallize this solidarity, and particularly the solidarity of the hitherto inarticulate masses. Then came the Rowlatt Act—better known as the “Black Act”—a sort of moral equivalent of martial law, with the object of crushing all opposition to the Government by terrorism. This was the last straw, the crowning indignity—and the Indian people responded much as did the American colonists at the time of the Revolution when the Stamp Act was put in force. A great wave of popular indignation rolled up, and Mahatma Gandhi rode on the crest of that wave to a position of power never before occupied by any leader since the beginning of the British occupation of India.

Then came the massacre of Amritsar, in the Punjab, at Jallianwalla Bagh, where General Dyer shot to death, 500 men, women, children, and wounded about 1500 others, in order—on his own admission—to create an impression on the whole province of the might of the British Raj. The date of this awful occurrence (which may be compared to the Russian "Bloody Sunday") is certain to be a memorable date in the history of the English, as well as of the Indian People. The studied cold-blooded cruelty of the action of this military upstart opened ears to hear and minds to comprehend the unique message that Gandhi has set out to carry throughout the length and breadth of the Motherland. A Hindu, now in this country, speaking of the unexpected effect of the oppressive measures of the Government,—and particularly the part that Lord Curzon himself had played in arousing dynamic opposition to English rule in India, said "It was nothing less than the hand of God". A Mahomedan writing from Madras

says "The Khilafat wrong, the Punjab atrocities and Rowlatt Act, have become blessings in disguise and are nothing but blows dealt to the sleeping masses of India to awaken them from their slumber."

It has been said that no one can understand the situation in India unless he understands the man who has had so much to do with making it what it is. "Mahatma Gandhi has captured India," says Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, a member of the British Parliament, who while he disagrees with Gandhi's policy absolutely, admits that he has a greater following than any other political leader in the world to-day.

This man who draws and holds his followers by the power of love admits an admiration for Jesus of Nazareth that has become almost the dominating passion of his life. When asked what he thought of him Dr. Rabindranath Tagore replied, "He is a truly great soul.....He is a saint and saints still have a chance in India."

In a sermon entitled, "Who is the

Greatest man in the World" Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of New York City, who is the most noted exponent of non-resistance in America, in April 1921 startled the whole United States asking the same question. In this address, delivered at the Community Church, Mr. Holmes turned from the "little men who rode the storm of the Great War to power and place, to consideration of two great men, Romain Rolland, a religious idealist and Nicolai Lenin, a realist, but a man, by his own confession, without the spiritual bent ; and from that point moved on to a consideration of the unique figure who is leading the Nationalist movement in India. This man, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, he described as a "universal man, combining in seemingly perfect balance, the supreme qualities of the idealist and the realist,—the dreamer and the doer."

#### GANDHI: TWENTIETH CENTURY CHRIST.

Gandhi, thus presented as the most dynamic personality of the time, is to-day the object of reverence of hundreds of milli-

ons of people, and an object of terror to the greatest imperialistic power of the age,—the power that holds these millions of people, his people, in almost slavish subjection. He is a little man, weighing less than a hundred pounds, of weak physique but iron will. He is a shrunken figure of a man, insignificant even at first glance, but endowed with a magnetism and a spiritual force un-equalled ( according to all reports ) since the time of Jesus. An American poet has recently written of him. *45 46*

Hath Buddha found in peace, Nirvana, now,  
Or doth Christ walk on earth again ?

Colonel Wedgwood, who believes that India is drifting into "anarchy" says apropos of Gandhi's hold on the people:

"The intelligentzia differs from him in private, rarely in public. Property differs from him and trembles. The Government, any government, differs from him ( because he goes to the root of all government ), and thinks it best to—wait."

A brilliant English journalist writes :

There is every reason to infer that the daily life of the Mahatma is modelled upon the sermon on the Mount. When this man expressed the opinion that Jesus of Nazareth refrained from politics, Gandhi replied, "I do not think so, but if you are right, the less Christian he."

It is necessary to emphasize these things, for otherwise one can hardly visualize what is going on in India to-day. A revolution whose leader said : "we must have no bloodshed ; we will not harm our oppressors ; we will not even hate them," can only be comprehended in the light of such a document as that which embodies the message of Jesus. Only by means of the illumination of such teachings can one understand a leader who asserts :

"We must have no bloodshed ;—Let not our rock be violence and devilry. Our rock must be non-violence and godliness. The success of our movement depends upon our ability to control all the forces

of violence on our side.....we will not injure Englishman. We will not even hate them. Ours is the law of love."

Working under this law, Gandhi holds, it is possible for a single individual to defy the might of an unjust empire. And this is what Gandhi is doing. He is defying the might of the most powerful imperialism in the world ; and if he can get and keep the hundreds of millions of his countrymen behind him in the unified opposition to British rule in India, he will not only win Swaraj for India but he will revolutionize Revolution for all time ! We are told on good authority that 80 per cent of the population of India are with him. It may be that many have but meager comprehension of what he is trying to do ; but they trust him and they adore him. Men fight to kiss his hand or touch his garment. They have walked forty miles—it is reported—merely to catch a glimpse of the train that carries him by. Everyone who has met him speaks of his eyes—eyes which Frazier

Hunt describes as, "deep with pity and understanding and burning bright with great purpose." It is said that these blazing eyes defeat any argument before it is uttered ; that it is impossible to disagree with him in his presence. Such is the power of the spirit. Such are the results of fighting on the higher plane.

The policy of Hate, Gandhi declares, is suicidal ; so he has outlined a policy based on constructive good will which can and does act as a cement to keep intact any organized body. He holds that armed force, *always the weapon of the weak*, is the concrete manifestation of fear and hate which are disintegrating forces and hence a temporary and shifting base of action. The capacity for unlimited self-sacrifice that Gandhi's method presupposes simply cannot exist side by side with ill-will, as it cannot permit the use of the weapons that ill-will suggests.

"Non-violence", says this eloquent prophet of the new dispensation, "does not

mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer, but it means pitting one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Violence belongs to the Satanic materialism of the west ; our cause shall triumph through Soul Force. It is a program which provides for the securing of one's rights by personal suffering—by the concerted action of Good against Evil."

"An impossible program!" some reply.

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#### THE GENESIS OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.

But it is the impossible that has been done from time immemorial—and will be done again. Thrilling and almost unbelievable is the story of the non-violent struggle for recognition, of 16,000 Indians in South Africa, led by this great apostle of "passive resistance". This was the first

use by Gandhi of the weapon of non-co-operation. Here he fought the government for twenty years, barring those intervals, when (true to his idea of following the letter as well as the spirit of the Golden Rule) he called off his "strike" when the government was in trouble and with his followers went to its assistance. The fight was long, but at last came victory—the result of the almost unbelievable patience and humility with which this saint met every act of an enemy that finally gave in for very shame. The long campaign of non-violent resistance finally compelled General Smuts to negotiate with the Indian leader, and the Smuts-Gandhi legislation is still on the Statute books at Cape Town.

As Love and Non-violence may be said to be the power, so Non-cooperation may be said to be the machinery evolved to utilize that power, to the end that the Indian people shall be freed from an alien rule that has been so long sapping their moral and spiritual energies as well as destroying

their physical potentialities. Gandhi has said publicly: "We freely admit our share of blame for the existing state of things. It is not British guns that are responsible for our subjection so much as our voluntary co-operation." And he says, too: "True men disregard unjust commands... Refuse then to help England to make you a 'conquered nation'." Non-cooperation, as Gandhi outlines it, is nothing less than absolute refusal to participate in any function—political, social, legal or educational—or in any business transaction which is essential to British rule. "*Swaraj*," said Gandhi, "*is knocking at our doors, and by co-operation with the comparatively few Englishmen within our borders may it not be ourselves, not the British, who are shutting it out?*" The present government, he insists, cannot even live in India except through the assistance of Indians. So he says to his people:

**The Program:**

**Cease to co-operate with your rulers.**

Boycott liquor and drugs ; take your children out of the English schools ; keep out of English courts, wear home-spun clothing. Give up all titles and honors of British origin. Pay no taxes to the British Government. Resign from Government positions,—civil and military.

In his "Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught", Gandhi wrote :

He who runs may see that this is a religious and purifying movement. We are leaving off drink. We are trying to rid India of a curse of untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel and splendor, by reviving the spinning and the ancient and poetic simplicity of life. We hope therefore to sterilize the existing and harmful institutions. We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam we are protecting the honor of humanity.

The barbaric idea of force as a safeguard of national security—"The heathen

heart that puts its trust in reeking tube and iron shard", these have failed. Gandhi now comes to Christian nations of the Western world,—nations which paradoxically enough have accepted, along with the Sermon on the Mount, the ages-old machævillian idea that physical force is the basis of authority,—with the word of Him who said : "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." For want of a better name his policy has been described as "passive resistance" a term first used by Tolstoi. The Mahatma does not like the expression. He says that it merely describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only a part. "Real beauty," he says, "is doing good against evil", which calls to mind the words of Jesus, "Recompense to no man evil for evil." The Christian has no difficulty in accepting the thought therein contained, but his practical mind suggests the questions—How can such ideas be carried out? Will non-violent resistance work? The Indians who, during a labor

strike laid themselves down across a tram-car track in rows and met death until the motorman had no stomach to proceed further, give one answer to the question. This testimony from M. A. ANSARI, Secretary of the Indian National Congress, taken from the "Venturer", London, May, 1921, gives another. He says :

Violent mobs have been controlled because of the appeal made to their higher nature. At the Delhi station I saw a menacing crowd of some 80,000 quietly disperse at the bidding of a Swami after upwards of 200 of their number had been wounded and some killed by soldiers sent to break up the procession. And instances of this sort are occurring every day.

A contributor to the "Muhammedan" (Madras) says significantly :

The politics of India are to be based purely upon ethical and religious grounds and not upon militarism, which dies in Germany and takes birth—everywhere !

...Young India's call is for self-discipline and patient suffering, so that no amount of force may make her co-operate with injustice and oppression....The idealism of non-cooperation is placed before the self-respecting Indians to be taken in hand. Bonds of slavery are to be shaken off, not by Sin Fein methods, not by "Bolshevism", but by a policy of STAND ALOOF FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

This "standing aloof from the government", this severing of all connection with a government that is denationalizing the state, is not all. This is only the rejection part of Gandhi's program. The other side, which may be called the acceptance side of it, provides for the building up within the old, of a new India—a free, virile, independent India. The Rejection of one thing here, implies the acceptance of something else, which in this case, is a wholly new psychology of action for the Indian people. It calls for the building up of a system of village industries, the creation of native

arbitration courts, the initiation of new and better schools, and—most important of all—the injection into the masses, of the will to live as a free people. This side of the program is the crowning success of Non-co-operation, and, barring the negative character of the name, it is the positive part of Gandhi's program.

This in brief, is the remarkable revolutionary policy of the man who, without a doubt, has the greatest political following in the world—a following that, in spite of,—or perhaps because of his anticipated arrest is increasing every day. It must be borne in mind that while there is no animus towards Englishmen, there is a deep ethical obligation on the part of Gandhi's followers, not to co-operate with a bureaucracy that refuses to pay the same respect to the men and women of India that it pays to the English men and women.

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## RESULTS OF NON-COOPERATION :

Already the efforts of this wise and pure movement have produced remarkable results. This is not a message that falls on deaf ears. People hear and they obey. Men who have been drunkards and drug-takers for years, say, "Gandhi forbids," and the vicious habits of a life-time are broken. Lawyers give up practices that have meant lives of luxury, and live in comparative poverty. About thirty thousand titles have been renounced. Rabindranath Tagore was one of the first to act in this renunciation. In his letter to the Viceroy resigning his title he said, after a scathing denunciation of the "treatment meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organization for the destruction of human lives,"—"The time has come when badges of honor make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation."

Colleges have been broken up and

students have gone out as apostles, preaching the gospel of the new revolution. Taxes are refused and lands forfeited. Spinning-wheels have been put into millions of homes, and foreign made clothing is everywhere taboo. At a great meeting, in August, 1921, following the immense bon-fire wherein millions of rupees worth of foreign-made cloths and clothing were burned, every person present was clad in home-spun. All this foreshadows the downfall of British domination in India, for British trade is the life of British rule there.

The Government, at a loss as to ways and means to meet this strange weapon of the Mahatma, has resorted, as of old, to violence—but the results leave much to be desired. Thousands have gone to jail gladly,—have even courted arrest. They have made no defence whatever, signifying their denial of the Government's right to interfere with whatever they may please to do. At the National Congress held the last week of December 1921, in spite of the Government

effort against it—it was voted overwhelmingly to continue the non-violent program and also to institute civil disobedience in certain sections of the country. Already, it is reported, the Egyptians have decided to adopt Gandhi's tactics of non-co-operation, and what Egypt has done, other nations are bound to do. The unique experiment of this politically minded saint will be tried again and again ; and in the years to come what India is doing to-day will be seen to have had a world-wide significance. Hakim Ajmal Khan, the acting President of the Congress, said :—

“It should be a matter af pride to all of us that India is showing the way to other sister countries. ... The day is not far distant when the conscience of the world will adopt ours as the world weapon against universal injustice and untruth.”

It is heartening to know that monstrous acts of repression have no provoked violence excepting in comparatively few instances,

and in many of these, outside influence has been clearly discerned. Repression has "only redoubled the national determination" in the words of the head of the Congress, who says :—

"Our country is experiencing terrible convulsions, but it requires no prophet to foretell that these are the birth-pangs of Young India that will revive the glorious traditions of our ancient country and permit her to take her place among the nations of the world."

The presence of this Mohamedan as the acting President of this great nationalistic gathering of ten thousand delegates—representing more than ten million registered Volunteers pledged to the extreme position of the non-co-operation program—is itself highly significant, for it is indicative of that new spirit of Hindu Muslim unity which was first shown forth to the world when the Ali brothers became Gandhi's chief lieutenants.

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## THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

Women have been a great factor in the success of this boycott. Indeed the part that the women of India are playing in this movement for the liberation of the motherland, is particularly heartening and more than ordinarily significant. According to all reports they have responded with sympathetic readiness to the Appeal that Gandhi addressed to them when Swaraj was first projected. He declared that women intuitively understand the spiritual nature of the struggle, and he admonished them that the "Swadeshi" ( our own country ) movement must start inside the home where woman was supreme. Greatly pleased by their response he said in address, delivered in Calcutta, December, 1920 :

"I would be guilty of want of faith in God if I underrated the significance of the response from the women of India." \*  
....."There is no one in the world who

can be an equal of a woman who possesses a pure and kind heart."

Women were present in large numbers at the congress last December when Gandhi's program of non-violent non-co-operation was launched; and a number of women's conferences have been held since that time. More than this, from all over India women are taking an active part in spreading the gospel of peaceful revolution. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sarala Devi, both noted poets and publicists are speaking in support of Non-co-operation. The latter is a niece of Rabindranath Tagore. Mrs. C. R. Das whose husband gave up a very remunerative law-practice to work with Gandhi, and Ansuya Bai, who comes from the same province as Gandhi and has a remarkable influence there, are both giving valuable assistance ; and there are hundred of others, Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee, and Christian,—all workers for freedom.

Women go to public meetings and come back minus their diamonds, saying, "It is

for the cause." Some of the most splendid jewels in the land are at the feet of Gandhi to be sold at public auction for the Tilak Swaraj Fund as it is called. Beautiful stuffs are cast aside for the coarse Khaddar now being woven in the homes from Indian-grown materials, for India is realizing, as Mrs. Sarala Devi put it, that it is "at the point of the spindle only that we shall win back our freedom" Women are urging their sons to put aside all thought of studying until freedom shall have been won and the opportunity for education extended—not to the favored few—but to all.

Upon arrest af the Ali brothers in September 1921, the wife of Mohammed Ali declared at a momster meeting held in Bombay that she had sent her husband "happily" to prison, promising that she would serve the Cause in his place. She pleaded with the crowd to keep to their vow of non-violence, because this arrest was in reality a test, the test, of the sincerity and strength of the Indian people in their time

of trial ; and she begged them to remember that in place of one of the Ali brothers would come ten, ready to serve their country. The call to this meeting was sent out by Mrs. Naidu, who is President of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, and a statement issued by her at that time, read :—

“I entreat the people of Bombay to meet this grave hour of our national crisis in a spirit of unbroken calm, courage, and fortitude : and to offer to them( the Ali brothers ) the tribute of Love and Sorrow—not by instituting futile Hartals and processions but by faithfully maintaining inviolate the great ideal of Non-violence and Peace—”

The aged mother of the Brothers perhaps best sums up the new spirit of the women in the message she sent to Mahatma Gandhi on the occassion of the arrest of her sons ; which reads as follows :

“Telegram received. Am. unmoved. Work should on no account be relaxed,

but continued with redoubled energy. Though practically invalid I am ready to work to the last breath. God be with us."

Indian women are to-day coming out of their seclusion filled with that spirit of legitimate nationality which says, "India shall be free." In the early period of his South African activity, Mrs. Gandhi decided to cast her lot with that of her husband,—and how hard that lot was can only be glimpsed by reading the accounts of that long and arduous struggle. The suffering of that and later times have left their indelible marks upon her face. Speaking to her, in 1912, a prominent Indian publicist said, "As long as we have women like Mrs. Gandhi we need not despair of our country. They show that at the proper time and as occasion may arise, they are possessed of the highest qualities of courage, heroism, and capacity for endurance and suffering.

All this does not mean that there is no

opposition, no disagreement with Gandhi's methods. Gandhi has opponents, chiefly among the parasites created by the British Government,—place-hunters, title-lovers, and time-servers of every description. Also there are legitimate "Tories" to be found in India in 1922 as they were in our own country in 1775. Indians there are, as there were Americans, in Revolutionary days, who have not the perspective to see what is for their country's best good. But the free spirit is alive there and growing. Then Gandhi has to contend with the subtle antagonism that arises among intellectuals and also among religionists,—for Gandhi is both an "intellectual" and a religious leader. Despite all such opposition and these disagreements, however, the response to Gandhi's appeal for national unity, has been phenomenal and heartening in the extreme; and the reaction of the Indian people to the efforts of this leader, looking toward the spiritual, social and political regeneration of a once great nation, has been

and continues to be almost beyond the belief and the comprehension of the Western mind.

#### THE INTELLIGENTZIA:

The hold that he has on the hearts and minds of the common people everywhere is particularly inspiring. Gandhi tells the *intelligenzia* plainly that they are wanted in the movement, but that Swaraj can be obtained without their co-operation ! It must be remembered that this is a call to a spiritually-minded people to wrest the control of the government from the iron hand of tyranny simply by opposing, to the strength of the oppressor, the willingness to suffer until Might shall have been put down by Right. It is a determined effort to great political revolution without shedding the blood of the enemy. By the following out of the policy of non-violent resistance, Great Britain has once been brought to terms by this matchless leader and she will be again if Gandhi can hold together millions as he was able to hold

thousands. Can he do this ? The "if" cannot be ignored. Can "Truth Force" win under the circumstances ? Already the iron hand of power is being felt with increasing severity. A government which at Amritsar did not hesitate to massacre in cold blood peaceful gathering of men, women and children, will hesitate at nothing. Agents provocateur are to be found in India as they were of old in Russia. Incitement to violence must be expected always and everywhere. Blood will flow in streams if the passive resists do hold out. Will enough of them hold their principles so that success may come in the greater struggle, as in the lesser ? On the strength of India's adherence to the program laid down by their great leader depends the freedom of that country and the future peace of the world. And think of what this would mean ! The outlawing of physical force in every field, the fulfillment of Christ's admonition expressed in the words ( so long misinterpreted ) "Turn the other cheek,"; and the

saving of the future of humanity from the terrible god Moloch, that takes his toll from the finest and best of the race, lays his fell hand upon the children and reaches into the future—even unto the fourth generation.

And India free would mean,—must mean, a free world. Gandhi's leadership must pass to his people which shall point the way towards universal brotherhood,

"My life", says Gandhi, "is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of Non-violence, which I believe is the root of true Hinduism. I believe absolutely that India has a mission for the world. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself,"

If great India can say this, and saying believe, and believing, do—the whole world will indeed be saved. "Let the bugles sound the truce of God to the whole world forever. Not to one people, but to every people let the glad tidings go....."

## G A N D H I

*By Mary Siegrist.*

Who is it walks across the world today ?  
A Christ or Buddha on the common way—  
This man of Peace through whom all India draws  
Breathlessly near to the eternal will ?  
Hush, what if on our earth is born again  
A leader who shall conquer by the sign  
Of one who went strange ways in Nazareth ?

Who is it sits within his prison cell  
The while his spirit goes astride the world ?  
This age-fulfilling one through whom speak out  
The Vedas and Upanishads—who went  
Naked and hungry forth to find the place  
Where human woe is deepest and to feel  
The bitterest grief of India's tragic land ?  
Whose is this peace that challenges a world  
That calls divine resistance to a will  
No man upholds ? Whose is this voice  
Through whom' the Orient comes articulate ?  
Whose love is this that is an unsheathed sword  
To pierce the body of hypocrisy ?  
Whose silence this that calls across the world ?

In this strange leader are all races met ;  
In his heart East and West are one immortally ;  
Through him Love sounds her clarion endlessly  
To millions prostrate who have lain age-long  
Beneath the oppressor's heel—unwearied saint.  
Who gives them back the ancient memory  
Of a great dawn, a lost inheritance.

In his deep prison there in India  
Somehow abreast with sun and sky he waits.  
What if again a Christ is crucified  
By some reluctant Pilate—if again  
The blind enact their old Gethsemane ?

Tread softly, world, perhaps a Christ leads on  
Today in India.

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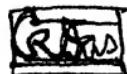
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## INTRODUCTION.

# THE CONGRESS AND AFTER

By M. K. Gandhi.

THE Congress week was a week of joy and celebration. None thought that Swaraj was not attained. Every one seemed to be conscious of the growing national strength. There was confidence and hope written in every face. The Reception Committee had provided for admitting one hundred thousand visitors to the Congress pandal. But the lowest calculation puts down the figure at two lacs. The rush was so great that it became impossible to issue either season tickets or the entrance tickets. And this phenomenal attendance would have been still larger if all kinds of false rumours had not been started to scare away people. The imprisonment of leaders and workers and their courage has filled the people with a new hope and a new joy. There was a feeling in the air that the people had found in suffering the surest remedy for the attainment of freedom and breaking down the mightiest force that might be pitted against it.

The Constitution has worked for a year and in my humble opinion it has proved a thorough success. There was a serious business air about the Subjects Committee which had ample time for deliberation. It was a committee not chosen hap-hazard, but deliberately by electors who knew what they were doing. The Congress itself was an impressive spectacle. Hakimji made an ideal and patient President in the place of Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. The delegates insisted

upon their doubts being solved before they voted. They insisted on understanding everything that was going on.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, took no more than fifteen minutes to read his address in Hindi. There were no speeches to induct the President. The whole of the function was performed by the All-India Congress Committee. That saved at least two hours of the twelve thousand delegates and visitors. The President's address took no more than twenty minutes. Every speech was to the point and not a minute was allowed to be wasted in idle talk.

In the nature of things too it could not well be otherwise. The resolutions were addressed to the nation. They presented a programme of earnest work that had got to be done if the nation was to find her place in the world.

Extraordinary care was therefore taken both in the Subjects Committee and the Congress to see that the resolutions were properly understood before they were voted upon.

So much for the business side.

### **THE EXHIBITION.**

The spectacular was no less impressive. The pandal itself was a majestic structure covered with Khadi all over. The arches also of Khadi. The Subjects Committee pandal of Khadi. A beautiful fountain surrounded by green lawns ornamented the front of the pandal. At the back was a large pandal for overflow meetings where all that had gone in the Congress pandal was explained to the thousands of spectators, men and women who could not gain entrance for love or money.

The whole ground was a blaze of light at night, and being on the river bank and just at the end of Ellis Bridge, presented

for full eight days for thousands of admiring spectators on the other side a gorgeous appearance.

The Exhibition ground was quite near. It attracted huge crowds. It was a complete success. The attendance was beyond all expectation, no less than forty thousand visited the Exhibition daily. It was a unique demonstration of what India can produce. The chief attraction was the party from Chikacole who demonstrated all the processes of cotton leading to the drawing out of yarn up to 100 counts. No Machinery could possibly make the snow-like silvers that the delicate hands of the women of Andhra produced with their simple bones. No machine could draw the exquisite thread that the delicate fingers of the Andhra women drew. The music of the spindle, as it performed its gentle revolution, is incapable of being reproduced. The evolution that Khadi has undergone during the year could also be studied in a room where every variety of Khadi was collected. The paintings from Shantiniketan and elsewhere and the beautiful carvings afforded instruction to the close student as well as the ordinary spectator. The musical concerts in which musicians from all parts of India took part was an irresistible attraction for thousands of spectators. It ended in the convening by Vishnu Digamber Shastri of the first All-India Musical Conference whose object is to popularise music in national assemblies and organise Bhajan Mandalis.

### **KHADI IN EVIDENCE.**

The Khadi Nagar, the adjoining muslim Nagar, and the Khilafat pandal next to it were a triumphant demonstration of Hindu-Muslim Unity and an ocular demonstration of the hold that Khadi has on the public. The Reception Committee used only Khadi manufactured in Gujarat and worth three

hundred and fifty thousand rupees. The Committee paid Rs. 50,000 for the use of the Khadi. All the tents including a big kitchen and store house were covered with Khadi. Nearly two thousand volunteers both Hindu and Mussalman and including a few Parsis and Christians looked after all the arrangements for the guests in both Khadi Nagar and Muslim Nagar.

The sanitary arrangements were a special feature. Trenches were dug for the purpose. Perfect privacy was secured by Khadi partitions. And the excreta were covered over with clean earth after every time the trench was used. It was therefore found to be in a clean condition. The work of attending to the trenches was done not by paid Bhagis but by unpaid volunteers belonging to all castes and religions. Those only were taken who had no repugnance to this necessary work. The reader may not know that the process is so clean and so expeditious that the cleaner does not have to touch either the excreta or the earth. He has but to take a few shovelfuls of the cleanest earth, and with it carefully cover up the dirt. The result of this simple attention was that the camp was clean, sweet and free from the plague of this. All the camps were lighted by electricity.

### **WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.**

I must not omit to mention the Women's Conference presided by Biamma, the brave mother of the Ali Brothers. It was a soul-stirring spectacle. The whole of the spacious pandal was filled by no less than fifteen thousand women. I do not say that they all understood what was going on. But I do say that they knew instinctively what it was. They knew that their assembly advanced India's cause and

that they were expected to play their part side by side with men.

In the midst of all this rush there was, so far as I am aware, no accident. The police, be it said to their credit, never interfered with anything or any body. On the Congress side of the bridge all arrangements were left to the Congress and the Khilafat volunteers.

### **THE DARK SIDE.**

So far I have given the bright side of the picture. But like every picture the Congress picture too has its shades. Though there was the greatest enthusiasm, there was at times unruliness on the part of the visitors. When they grew impatient they made a rush for the pandal and forced entrance once or twice. It was all good-humoured but it could also prove disastrous. We must be able to regulate such functions in perfect order and that is possible only when the mass of people instinctively and voluntarily obey instructions from their own men. Self-restraint is the key to Swaraj, self-government. Even the delegates were not all punctilious in obeying instructions. Some of them would not even occupy the blocks reserved for them. They did not hesitate even to suggest that they were out for civil disobedience and would therefore sit where they liked. Even some members of the All India Congress Committee were not above such incivil criminal disobedience. Some delegates would not pay for their board and lodging. And I am sorry to say that there was even impersonation by at least one Gujarati who used a friend's ticket as visitor although he knew that the ticket bore his friend's name and that it was non-transferable. What adds to the grief is that he is a well known member of the Provincial Congress Committee.

**AND AFTER.**

When therefore I think of the darker side of the picture my heart sinks within me. I know why there is delay in our realising our ideal. But when I think of the brighter side, the picture is too attractive to enable the shades materially to mar its beauty. At the same time it would not do for us to be forgetful and relax our vigilance. The movement depends for its success only upon developing our moral strength. Even as one false note spoils a whole musical piece, so does a single individual suffice to crush a great movement like ours. Let us remember that we have staked our all upon Truth and Nonviolence. Whatever other may be able to do being free from any such pledge, bound by our own pledge we are sure to fall to pieces, if we break our own deliberate pledge. As therefore I have often said in these pages, the thorough working of the Congress Constitution leads automatically to the establishment of Swaraj. Let us see.—*Young India.*

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# THE THIRTYSIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Ahmedabad Session, December, 27th, 1921.

—o—

*First Day's Proceedings.*

—o—

The momentous annual Session of the Thirtysixth Indian National Congress opened its session at Ahmedabad on December, 27th 1921 under a specially erected pandal on the bank of the river Sabarmati.

## **The Pandal.**

The pandal itself, a majestic structure admirably planned and covered all over with pure white *khadi* (hand spun and handwoven) presented an imposing appearance. The exterior resembled that of an ancient Indian Fort with three gates. The main *Swaraj gate* bearing the motto "Swaraj is my birthright" inscribed just above the central arch with a *charka* immediately beneath fixed in bold relief stood as the noble gateway to India's freedom.

With the change of India's political atmosphere the Congress also had changed its methods. Everything had business-like appearance and was devoid of superfluities. The decorations inside the pandal though simple were yet attractive. Changes in sitting arrangements were one of its features. The dais was slightly raised from the ground sloping towards the centre.

Quite in oriental fashion the whole audience squatted on the ground, the sand floor covered with Khadi serving the purpose of cushion. Only the acting President and

Mahatama Gandhi were provided with stools to write on and the press representatives were supplied with desks.

The audience was composed of the three thousand members of the Reception Committee, five thousand delegates from the several provinces of India and four thousand visitors. The following from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi appearing in his "Young India" is an interesting reading.

### An Instructive Table.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Reception Committee I am able to give the following table showing the number of delegates who attended the Congress and their composition :—

#### Number of Delegates.

Name of Provinces.	No. of delegates under the Constitution.	Actual Arrivals.
Andhra	360	383
Kerala	160	33
Maharashtra	292	263
Karnataka	320	304
Gujarat	185	185
Bombay	18	17
Burma	100	56
Punjab and N. W. F.	540	518
Sindh	71	63
Delhi	100	92
Rajputna	400	399
Utkal	300	108
C. P. (Marathi)	50	44
Assam	63	17
Berar	61	58
Madras	410	162

[ 9 ]

1 Bengal		<u>986</u>	373
2 United Provinces ✓		<u>960</u>	888
C. P. (Hindusthani)		<u>209</u>	205
3 Bihar		<u>588</u>	558
		<u>6,173</u>	<u>4,726</u>

### Analysis of the Attendance.

Ladies	Musal.	Parsis	Sikhs	Antyajas	The rest.
8	10				365
	1				32
1	9				253
9	29				266
11	22.	5		2	145
3	2				15
	2				51
17	67		54		380
1	11				51
7	13		4		68
11	13				375
	3				105
1	5				38
	2				15
2	5				5
2	13				147
10	36.		4		323
10	114 <del>wk</del>		3		761
6	29				170
7	83	-			468
<hr/>	<hr/>	-	-	-	<hr/>
106	469	5	65	2	<u>4,079</u>

It will be noticed that out of the total permissible (6,173) as many as 4,726 attended the Congress. Hitherto the number has been swelled by local delegates who could under the old constitution become delegates for the asking by simply paying Rs. 10. This time not even Pandit Malaviyeji could be regarded as a delegate because he was not elected. The actual attendance of 4,726 was therefore a fine record. That the United Provinces and Bengal, in spite of so many arrests, could have sent 888 and 373 respectively and the far off Assam should have sent 17 and Utkal 108, shows the keen interest that is being taken in the National Assembly. No less remarkable is the attendance of 106 lady delegates representing almost all the provinces. The attendance of 65 Sikh delegates must also be regarded as altogether remarkable. Hardly few Sikhs attended two years ago. But now that community is everywhere pushing itself forward in all national movements. The number of 469 Musalman delegates is a good number, but we must not be satisfied till we have got the full quota which must be more than 1,200. I am sure that there were more than 2 'untouchable' delegates. I cannot imagine the Punjab and the Andhra provinces not sending any such delegates. The presence of 5 Parsi delegates is of course beyond their numerical proportion which is 2. The Parsis; as I have so often remarked, have in proportion to their numbers occupied the foremost place whether in point of sacrifice, attendance, ability or generosity. I know as a matter of fact that there were at least two Christians. And of course, if Messrs. Stokes and George Joseph had been free, they would have attended. But it is up to the Hindus and the Musalmans to go out of their way to induce a more general interest in the movement on the part of the Christian community.

### Visitors.

If the attendance of delegates was most satisfactory, that of visitors was not less so. The troubled state of the country scared away the richest men, and so not a single ticket for Rs. 5,000 each was taken up, 21 however paid Rs. 1,000, each, 20 paid Rs. 500 each, 162 Rs. 100 each, 81 Rs. 50 each and 1,686 Rs. 25 each, making a total of Rs. 93,400 in receipts. The Reception Committee contributed more than its quota. The total strength was filled up, the receipts being Rs. 78,625. 11,261 Season Tickets of Rs. 3 each were issued permitting attendance everywhere but the Congress Sessions, 64,469. Four Annas Tickets were issued. As I have already remarked the issue of Season and entrance Tickets had to be stopped owing to the great rush. Altogether Rs. 2,49,527 were received by the Reception Committee in various fees.

*—Young India.*

Though the leaders were all clapped in Jail the dais was full with the remaining still left free and the solemnity of the proceedings was much enhanced by such absence.

### Members Present.

Prominent among those present on the dais were Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Acting President, Mahatama Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman, Reception Committee, Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachari, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Kastouri Ranga Iyengar, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Bhurgri, mother of the Ali Brothers, Mrs. Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Gandhi, Sreemoti Sarala Devi Choudhurani, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Abbas Tyabjee, Mr. Vittalbhai J. Patel, Mr. Satyamurti, Mr. Abhyankar, Mr. T. Prakasam, and T. S. Rajan.

The pandal all in white broken only by an artistic display of wreaths of flowers with twelve thousand audience—dressed in white khadi, the majority having Gandhi caps on, presented scene which can never be forgotten. Mahatma Gandhi, barebodied and barefooted having only a loin cloth round his waist was the centre of attraction and administration of all.

### **The Proceedings.**

The proceedings opened with the *Bandemataram* Song sung by a choir of lady volunteers followed by a number of young men singing other national songs. Miss. Tayabji, neice of Justice Tayabji, moved the whole house by her patriotic song.

Srijut V. Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee then climbed the rostrum and began reading his address in Hindi, copies of English translation of which were distributed among the audience. He took only 12 minutes to read it.

### **Srijut Patel's Welcome Address.**

Sj. Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said :—

Hakimji Saheb, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen's.

Never before has the Congress met under auspices such as God has provided for us this year. We seem to be pulsating with joy when we might have been grieving over the separation of our loved and revered workers. I shall not call them leaders ; for the year that is about to close on us has taught us that the leadership consists in service. And if we recognise that great and learned Musalmans and Hindus are now having their welllearned rest in the Government jails, we do so because they have served and suffered for us and

earned the reward coveted by us and reserved by a Government which pretends to be based on principles of law and order but which is really based on force as is becoming clear day by day.

We had hoped that we would meet to celebrate the establishment of Swaraj and therefore endeavoured to arrange a reception befitting such an occasion. But though we do not meet to celebrate that happy event God in His abundant mercy has sent us suffering to try us and make us worthy of so precious a gift. And therefore, viewing the imprisonments, assaults, forcible searches, breakings open of our offices and schools, as a certain sign of the approaching Swaraj, as a balm for the wounds inflicted upon our Musalman brothers and the Punjabees, we have not in any way altered or toned down our decorations, musical programme or other events, betokening joy and arranged for your reception.

But we do not ask you to judge our fitness for the honour of having you in our midst by the adequacy of our arrangements for your comforts and entertainment. I am fully conscious of our defects and the Reception Committee relies upon your generously overlooking them.

But the test you imposed upon us and we gladly accepted, was our response to the creative programme of Non-Cooperation with its life-giving and central fact of non-violence. Our dissociation from the institutions of a Government which seeks its safety by organising violence in the place of organising free public opinion and giving effect to it, meant our abstention under every circumstance from violence. I can truthfully claim that we have endeavoured to be non-violent in thought, word and deed. We have made a serious, definite effort to purify ourselves by conquering the weak flesh in us.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is its most visible symbol. Whereas hitherto we have distrusted and considered ourselves as natural enemies, we have begun to love each other and live in perfect friendliness. I am proud to be able to inform you that the relations between us have been and are not merely negatively friendly but we have been actively working together for the advancement of the national cause. Similary we have cultivated sweet relations with our Parsi, Christian and other countrymen. Whilst we have vigorously prosecuted our programme we have endeavoured to retain friendly relations with those who have differed from us. We have recognised that toleration is the essence of non-violence.

As to the renunciation of titles and practice by lawyers we can, I am sorry to say, show nothing of which we can feel proud. The boycott of Councils was certainly extensive so far as voters were concerned. We have a creditable record about education. Some of the best schools and high-schools have given up their connection with the Government and are none the worse for it. Attendance in most of the big national schools is on the increase. We have a National College and a National University to which institutions are affiliated. In the affiliated and other national schools there are 31 000 boys and girls receiving instruction.

Whereas two years ago there was hardly a spinning-wheel working in our Province, to-day there are at least 1,10,000 spinning wheels at work. The output of *khaddar* during the period under review is no less than two lacs of pounds. We have spent about 5 lacs in organising Swadeshi. The use of *khaddar* in construction of the various pandals and Khadi Nagar is in my opinion a striking ocular demonstration of our work in the direction of Swadeshi.

In temperance we have resorted to picketing on an

extensive scale with encouraging results. We have been most careful in the choice of picketers. They have done their work under trying circumstances and some of them have received injuries at the hands of enraged drinkers and sellers.

We have perhaps made the greatest advance in the matter of untouchability. Our suppressed countrymen freely attend our meetings. The national schools are open to them in theory for which the Senate had to fight a tough battle. In practice, however, there is not yet the insistent canvas to bring the children of these countrymen to our schools and make them feel that they are in no way inferior to our own. Though, therefore, our goal is not to multiply separate schools for such children we shall be compelled to maintain such schools for such children for some time to come. But the removal of the curse is not to be gauged by the number of schools opened for them or even their attendance in ordinary national schools. Untouchability is an attitude. And I am glad to be able to note that whilst we have yet much work to do in this direction, it has undergone a most noticeable change.

But I know that we have not passed through the fire of suffering that Bengal, Punjab, the United Provinces and other Provinces are passing through. I am hoping that our non-violence to which I have proudly referred is not non-violence due to helplessness, but that is due to self-imposed restraint. The Government has provided for us an opportunity by taking forcible possession of national schools from the Municipalities of Surat and Nadiad. Ahmedabad has the same problem to solve. And it can only be solved by Civil Disobedience in the last resort. The *Tehsils* of Bardoli and Anand are making elaborate preparations for mass Civil Disobedience. I bespeak the prayers of this great Assembly

that God may give us the strength to go through the ordeal of suffering and enable us to stand shoulder to shoulder with other sister Provinces. At the same time I wish to assure you that we shall do nothing reckless, nothing that we as peaceful and peace-loving human beings may not do for the preservation of National self-respect or safe-guarding of National rights.

I now ask Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb to take the chair as Acting President. Though Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das is not in our midst in the body, his pure, patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit is with us. He has sent his inspiring address full of religious fervour.

In the circumstances created for us by the Bengal Government, the All-India Congress Committee has followed the example of our brethren of the Muslim League when in the absence of Maulana Mahomed Ali, their President, they had to elect an Acting President. I know that in Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb whom the All-India Congress Committee has elected to act in Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das's place we have one of the greatest and noblest of our countrymen. For Hakimji is an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He commands the confidence and the affection of Hindus and others equally with our Musalman brothers.

### **No formal election of President.**

The Proceedings were conducted in such a business-like way that there was no formal election of the President in the open Congress. The Acting President, Hakim Ajmal Khan walked to the rostrum, delivered his speech and came back to his Musnad without any cheering or clapping—such was the air of seriousness which pervaded all through the proceedings. Perfect calm and silence prevailed in the House.

### The Presidential Address.

Hakim Ajmalkhan, the Acting President spoke in Urdu. The following is an English translation of his address :—

Brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress we are assembling under circumstances when, as a result of the latest repressive measures of the British Government in India, our duly elected President is not amongst us. It is a matter of deepest regret to all of us that Mr. C. R. Das is not with us to guide our deliberations to-day. It is superfluous for me to enumerate the numerous national services of that great patriot from Bengal or refer to the prominent place he occupies in the political and social life of our country, when the nation has itself unequivocally said in what esteem it holds him by conferring on him the greatest honour in its giving. But while we regret his absence on that account it should be a matter of deepest satisfaction to us all, both because the man whom the nation had chosen as its chief representative has by his undaunted courage, splendid self-sacrifice and spirit of cheerful suffering proved himself worthy of the great honour conferred on him, and because his arrest brings us a stage nearer to our success. Mr. C. R. Das has done greater service to his country by his arrest than he would probably have done by presiding over our deliberations to-day. His arrest has infused greater spirit and determination into the hearts of national workers and galvanised the entire country to greater activities and sacrifices.

I however realised my own inability to fill the place of Mr. C. R. Das and while thanking you for the great trust you have reposed in me by electing me to act for him, I hope and trust that I will prove myself worthy of the great honour you have conferred on me not only in this pandal but when the

time comes for me to make for my country and my God the sacrifice that it has been the good fortune of many of our noble bretheren to make.

### **Progress of Non-co-operation.**

It will take a long time to enter upon a detailed survey of the progress of Non-co-operation movement since the last sessions of the Indian National Congress. I will only briefly touch on the advance the country has made since the inauguration of Non-violent Non-co-operation. The spirit of Non-co-operation pervades throughout the country and there is no true Indian heart even in the remotest corner of this great country which is not filled with the spirit of cheerful suffering and sacrifice to attain Swaraj and see the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed. It has received the highest tribute that a nation could pay to another from our sister nation accross the Indian Ocean. Our Egyptian brethren have adopted it to fight their own political battle. It should be a matter of pride to all of us that India is showing the way to other sister countries. Non-violent Non-co-operation has ceased to be an Indian movement. It is fast becoming an Asiatic movement and the day is not distant when the conscience of the world will adopt Non-violent Non-co-operation as a world weapon against universal injustice and untruth. Who can deny the success of the spirit of Non-co-operation movement in India after witnessing the cheerful spirit with which our workers have made and are making willing sacrifices for the cause of their country and are going to gaol in ever increasing numbers with a smile on their lips? What is still more, not even this intense repression has provoked violence. It has only redoubled the national determination. Every successive fit of repression on the part of the Government

whether it was in connection with the confiscation of the *Fatwa* of *Jamaiat-ul-Ulama*, the famous Karachi trial or the wholesale application of the Seditious Meeting Act, the Criminal Lal Amendment Act or Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, by means of which the right of association and the peaceful activities of the Volunteer Organisation together other elementary rights of Citizenship were suppressed, have had but one effect viz. the determination on the part of the people to continue their national activities and to persist in their demand. A ceaseless pilgrimage to the gaol is kept up in vindication of the primary rights of citizenship in all the Northern Provinces of India as also in Maharashtra and Andhra. The nation to-day realises the grimness and the gravity of the great struggle it is engaged in and is behaving with the cool determination worthy of heroes fighting for a noble cause.

### **Time not inopportune.**

Nor is the time at which we are waging this noble struggle inopportune. Not only is the conscience of Asia and Africa awake and active but there are signs, feeble no doubt yet full of hope and promise, that the conscience of Europe too is at last rousing itself from its long slumber.

### **Prince's visit.**

I must add one word about the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. We have no quarrel with His Royal Highness. But we do not want a bankrupt Government to re-establish its fallen political credit by making a capital out of his Royal Highness's visit. Nor is the country in a mood to accord the Prince a cordial welcome so long as the two sores of the Khilafat and the Punjab, are still running

and Swaraj is still unattained. We therefore resolved simply to refrain from taking part in the welcome to His Royal Highness. And if there have been any regrettable incidents with consequence bitterness of spirit, the responsibility for it lies entirely at the door of the Government that betrayed such lamentable lack of sense and judgment and acted in a manner utterly unjustifiable.

### **Success of Non-co-operation.**

Our critics say that the Non-co-operation movement has failed and in support of their statement point to the Government Educational Institutions, the ranks of the Title-holders, the members of the new Legislative Councils and the Bar of the various High Courts. My answer to that, if answer be still needed after what I have just said, is that so far as the Government Educational Institutions are concerned I would invite the attention of our critics to what the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University had to say on the effect of the Non-co-operation movement. That result was achieved in spite of the fact that we had not made provisions for a sufficient number of National Colleges and National Schools for the students who left their institutions. As to the Title holders and Members of the New Legislative Councils, the classes which would naturally not be the first to respond to such an appeal, what is their position? Where is their prestige to-day? It has fallen lower than the Czarist rouble. The Government may still manufacture and place them in the market but the public simply does not care for them. And after all it is the public opinion that gives them value and currency. As to the lawyers it is true that with some noble exceptions they have not, as a class, responded to our appeal as they ought to have done. But as we develop our Panchayat

system a work to which we have not been able to devote much of our time and energy, the legal practitioners would soon fall in with the public opinion. The questions of the Government servants is slightly different and comparing the number of resignations offered last month with the average for previous months we have no reason to feel dissatisfied with the progress the non-co-operation is making in that direction, specially as the increased number of resignations is unquestionably the result of the policy of intensive repression adopted by the Government.

### **The Moderates and N. C. O.**

True, there are some of our Moderate brothers, with genuine love of our common country in their hearts who, for want of true appreciation of the real nature of the struggle we are engaged in and the issues that it involves, have not yet taken their proper place in the national ranks. But I feel sure that if the fire of patriotism is still alive in their hearts, and I feel confident that it will not die, they will soon realize their mistake and will be found taking the place of their brothers whose names figure on the national Roll of Honour.

### **Tragic Events in Malabar.**

I cannot close without referring to the tragic events that are daily taking place in Malabar and the prolonged agonies of our unfortunate Moplah brethren. And here I must make it quite clear that this question has two aspects; one with reference to the Government in the country and the other with reference to the treatment by the Moplahas of their Hindu brethren. As to the first judging from the evidence before the public, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that the responsibility of provoking these disturbances rests

entirely on the shoulders of the Government. While as to the method adopted in suppressing these, there will be no thinking person in the country who will not condemn them. All of us who have had the experience of Amritsar know the horrible nature of this "pacification." It was only accidentally that the terrible train-tragedy was revealed to the public the other day! But how many other tragedies there are that have not come to light?

As to our Hindu brethren who have been forcibly converted or have otherwise suffered at the hands of some of the Moplahs, I fully sympathise with them and there will be no Muslim worthy of the name who will not condemn this entirely un-Islamic act in the strongest possible terms. I feel sure that these stray incidents are the acts of a few misguided individuals and that the rest of the Moplahs are as ready and strong in condemning them as any of us here. Still I should not like the fair name of Islam to be tarnished in the slightest degree and I sincerely regret these deplorable incidents.

### **Reaching the goal.**

Ladies and gentlemen, our country is experiencing terrible convulsions, but it requires no prophet to foretell that these are the birth-pangs of Young India that will revive the glorious traditions of this our ancient country and take its proud place by the nations of the world.

The President took only 20 minutes to deliver his address in Urdu. Mr. Swahid, a delegate from Bombay then rose to the rostrum and translated the Presidential address in English.

This over, Dr. Ansari read the several messages and letters of sympathy.

Then at the request of the President Mrs. Sarojini Naidu read the massages of Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Das which, inspiring

as they were, received additional forcefulness and dignity by the magnificent delivery of Mrs. Naidu. Deshabandhu's message ran as follows:—(We give the full text of his undelivered address).

### **Deshabandhu's Address.**

(From *Young India*).

[I must apologise to the public for the delay in issuing Deshabandhu Das's presidential address. It was received by me in a fragmentary condition with instructions to revise it and put it in shape. The reader will be glad to learn that beyond restoring one sentence which had been ruled out and adding one to complete a thought and beyond slight verbal immaterial alterations, the address is being printed as received. I see from the sentences ruled out in the original that Deshabandhu's intention was to give a review of the year's work and his considered opinion in detail on non-co-operation. But sufficient appears in the printed text to enable us to know his opinion. We know it too from his emphatic and stirring messages to the country just before he was silenced. In appreciating the address the reader will be helped to know that it was prepared just before his arrest. The reader will not fail to note the marked self-restraint with which the address is prepared as also the fact that Deshabandhu believes in non-violence as his final creed. That the only use the Government has for such a man is to put him in prison is about the greatest condemnation it can pronounce upon itself.]

**Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee and  
Delegates of the Indian National Congress,**

We have arrived at a critical stage in our struggle with the Bureaucracy; and it behoves us, every one of us, to search our hearts and to ask ourselves the question, "Do I stand for India in her present struggle?" It is because I stand for India that I have responded to your unanimous call to-day. I thank you for your confidence in me; but I warn you that I have no worldly wisdom to offer you. I come from a city which has felt the full force of the wrath of the Government. Measures for stifling political life have been taken, as I believe, in order to coerce the people to receive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but it is the imprisoned soul of Calcutta that will greet His Royal Highness on the 24th December. I come from the struggle which has just begun in Calcutta, chastened and purified; and, if I have no worldly wisdom to give, I at least bring before you unbounded enthusiasm, and a resolute determination to see this struggle through.

**What is our aim?**

I think that at the very outset we ought to define our attitude in relation to the present struggle. What is our aim? Whither are we going? I think that most people will agree that we are out to secure freedom, freedom from foreign subjection, freedom from foreign interference. It is as well, however, that we should have a clear grasp of what is meant by the word "Freedom." In the first place it does not imply absence of all restraint. When I am forbidden to steal my neighbour's purse or to trespass on my neighbour's land, there is necessarily a restraint on my action; but there is no opposition between freedom and such restraint as has the sanction of the people behind it. In the second place,

freedom does not necessarily imply absence of the idea of dependence. Dependence there must be so long as we live in society, and need the protection of society; and there is no necessary opposition between freedom and such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people. But though there is no necessary opposition between freedom and restraint, and freedom and dependence, it must be remembered that restraint that does not deny freedom can only be such restraint as has the sanction of the people behind it; and dependence consistent with freedom can only be such dependence as is willingly suffered by the people for its own protection.

What then is freedom? It is impossible to define the term; but one may describe it as that state, that condition, which makes it possible for a nation to realize its own individuality and to evolve its own destiny. The history of mankind is full of stirring stories as to how nations have struck for freedom in order to keep their nationalism and their individuality inviolate and untarnished. To take only modern instances, one may refer to Finland and Poland, Ireland, Egypt and India. Each of these nations has offered a determined resistance to the imposition of a foreign culture upon it. The history of these nations has run on parallel lines. First there is the protest against cultural conquest; secondly there is the desire for national education; and lastly there is the demand for its recognition as a separate organism with the power to work out its own destiny without any hindrance from any foreign power.

### We stand for Freedom.

We stand then for freedom, because we claim the right to develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny along our own lines, unembarrassed by what Western civiliza-

tion has to teach us and unhampered by the institutions which the West has imposed on us. But here a voice interrupts me, the voice of Ravindranath, the poet of India. He says, "The Western culture is standing at our door ; must we be so inhospitable as to turn it away or ought we not to acknowledge that in the union of the cultures of the East and the West is the salvation of the world ?" I admit that if Indian nationalism has to live, it cannot afford to isolate itself from other nations. But I have two observations to make to the criticism of Ravindranath :—first we must have a house of our own before we can receive a guest ; and secondly, Indian culture must discover itself before it can be ready to assimilate Western culture. In my opinion, there can be no true assimilation before freedom comes, although there may be, as there has been, a slavish imitation. The cultural conquest of India is all but complete ; it was the inevitable result of her political conquest. India must resist it. She must vibrate with national life ; and then we may talk of the union of the two civilizations.

I must dispose of another objection, this time of my moderate friends. "You concede," I hear them say, "that freedom is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, the end being self-realisation, self-dependence, self-control ; why not work out your destiny within the British Empire ?" My answer is that so long as India occupies the position of a dependent in the British Empire, so long the task cannot be undertaken. Go into the villages, the heart of India and see the life that is lived by the average Indian. They are sturdy men and fearless men ; they are men of whom any country would be proud ; but the degradation that must inevitably follow subjection is writ large on their brow, and their lot is made up to caste troubles, petty squabbles, and endless

pursuit of litigation for litigation's sake. Where are now the institutions that made them self-dependent and self-contained? Where is the life that enabled them to earn their livelihood and yet left them free to worship the God of their fathers? I assert that once a nation passes into subjection, degeneration must inevitably set in attacking the very life-blood of that nation. Its effect is to be seen not in this sphere or that sphere but in every shere of the nation's activity. Economically, the British rule has had a disastrous effect on our national well-being. Mr. R. C. Dutt and after him Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have shown how deliberately the destruction of our national industry, the spinning and weaving industry, was planned. Who can contemplate with equanimity that every year many crores of rupees go out of India without corresponding advantage? Morally, we are becoming a nation of slaves, and have acquired most vices of the slave. We speak the language of the master, and ape his manners; and we rush with alacrity to adopt his institutions while our own institutions lie languishing in the villages. Intellectually, we have become willing victims to the imposition of a foreign culture on us; and the humiliation is complete when we are deliberately breaking away from the past, recognising no virtue in its continuity. "But then," say my moderate friends, "How can you hope to win freedom until you have elevated the people?" If I am right in my diagnosis that the present condition of India, material, moral and intellectual, is the direct result of the foreign rule in India, then it must follow that so long as our subjection continues, so long there is no hope of recovery. You may of course tackle side problems, as we are trying to do. You may infuse such enthusiasm amongst the people as may be of great assistance to you in your political campaigns. But, believe me, it is the disease

that you must fight, and not the outward symptoms of the disease.

I object then to the perpetuation of British domination as in my opinion it is impossible to find the fulfilment of our nationality, our individuality, our personality so long as that domination continues. In arriving at this conclusion I have entirely ignored the character of the British rule in India. That rule may be good or bad, it may be conceded that it is partly good and partly bad, but my conclusion is based on the view that there is inherent in subjection something which injures national life and hampers its growth and self-fulfilment. Whether within the Empire or outside it, India must have freedom so that she may realize her individuality and evolve her destiny without help or hindrance from the British people.

### **What are the methods ?**

I now come to the question. What are the methods which we ought to adopt in our fight with the Bureaucracy? There are three, and only three methods, that I know of, (1) armed resistance, (2) co-operation with the Bureaucracy in the councils that have been established under the Government of India Act, and (3) non-violent non-co-operation. The first I must dismiss as beyond the range of practical politics. Even if it were not so, on principle I am opposed to violence. We must then choose between co-operation and non-co-operation.

I confess, that in considering the question of co-operation, I am not a little troubled by the fact that some of our leaders who assisted at the birth of political life in India are ranged against us on the question. I therefore propose to consider some of the arguments that are advanced against us by these

supporters of the Government of India Act ; and in doing so, I shall consider, first whether the freedom of the Indian nation, that is to say, its right to develop its own individuality and evolve its own destiny, has been recognised in the Act ; secondly whether the Act either expressly or by necessary implication gives even the beginnings of responsible Government to the Indian people ; and lastly whether the legislature has any control, effective or otherwise, over the purse.

### **Government of India Act criticised.**

Now the Preamble of the Act is the key to the situation. "Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament" : so the Preamble runs. What is the declared policy of Parliament ? To recognise the inherent right of the Indians to responsible government ? Not at all. To recognise the inherent right of India to be treated as a free and equal partner of the commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire ? Not at all. But, mark the timid concession to the rights of India, "To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." I do not think a more halting concession could ever be made to the rights of a people. Now is there anything in the Preamble to compel the British Parliament to recognise India, at any time, as a free and equal partner of the British Empire ? I think not. "Progressive realization of responsible government in British India" ! These are vague words, and they will not, at any time, tax the ingenuity of a British statesman. Omitting the second paragraph and coming to the third, we find "that the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by

Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." Mark the word "peoples", not "people", an assertion by the Parliament that India is not one, but many. I for one am not prepared to submit to the insult offered to India in the third paragraph of the Preamble, and I feel bound to protest against it. We are quite prepared to undertake the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people (not people), and I altogether deny that a foreign Parliament can possibly discharge its responsibilities in relation to a subject nation. I resent the doctrine that the Parliament is to determine the time and manner of each advance, and I say that the whole object of the legislation, as disclosed in the third paragraph of the Preamble, is to perpetuate the domination of the British Parliament, which I cannot for a moment accept. The fourth paragraph holds out a distinct threat. "And whereas the action of Parliament", so it says, "in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility". In other words, if we are good boys, and if we satisfy the British Parliament that we have a sense of responsibility, then the British Parliament will consider whether we ought not to have a further instalment of reforms. In other words we are perpetual infants, and the British Parliament is our sole guardian.

### **Freedom is my birthright.**

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great respect for the opinion of my political opponents, but I cannot accept the fundamental principle on which the Reform Act is based. I think that we should preserve our self-esteem, whatever the

stage of our progress may be. I think that we should solemnly declare in open Congress, that freedom is inherent in every nation and that India has and possesses the right to develop her own individuality and to evolve her own destiny unhampered by what the British Parliament has decided or may decide for us. I think we should recognize that any power that in any way hampers or embarrasses the self-realization and self-fulfilment of the Indian nation is an enemy of India and must as such be resisted. I am willing to co-operate with England, but on one condition only, that she recognises this inherent right of India. That recognition you will not find anywhere in the Government of India Act, and I for one will not be a party to the perpetuation of British domination in India. But my moderate friends tell me, that though the freedom of the Indian people, in the sense in which I understand the term, has not been recognised in the Act of Parliament, still, if we work the reforms, it will not be in the power of Parliament to withhold that freedom. I do not doubt the wisdom of my friends nor deny their patriotism; but the question, in my opinion, is entirely irrelevant. My position is this, that however willing I may be to enter into a compromise with the English Government in matters of detail, and I am willing to make great sacrifices, I will not enter into any compromise on the question which I hold to be fundamental. Freedom is my birthright, and I demand a recognition of that right, not by instalments nor in compartments, but whole and entire. I do not doubt that victory will be on our side; but supposing we fail, we would at least have preserved inviolate our national self-respect and dignity, we would at any rate have repudiated the insult on which the Government of India Act is based. The difference between the Indian National Congress and the Ministers who are work-

ing the Reforms Act seems to me to be fundamental, in that the former has its eye fixed on the ultimate and would reject as essentially false anything that does not recognise the freedom of the Indian people ; whereas the latter have their eyes fixed on the departments of which they are in charge, and hope to attain freedom through the successful working of those departments.

### **Ministers are dumb spectators.**

I will now consider whether the Act gives even the beginnings of responsible government to India, and whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The two questions must be considered together. It is the view of the moderates in Bengal that out of seven members of the Bengal Government, five are Indians. The view is entirely erroneous. I think I am right in saying that provinces are governed, in relation to reserved subjects, by the Governor-in-Council, and in relation to transferred subjects, by the Governor acting with Ministers. The statute makes no provision whatever for the joint deliberation by the Governor and his Council and his Ministers sitting together, except in regard to proposals for taxation and borrowing, and the framing of proposals for expenditure of public money. In regard to the reserved subjects and these are subjects which are of vital importance to us as a nation in our struggle for political liberty, the Ministers have no voice whatever. I think I am right in saying that they are the dumb spectators of the fight that is now going on between us and the Government. They are not part of the Government to consider whether, in relation to the non-co-operation movement, a repressive policy should or should not be initiated in the country. Their advice will not be sought when the Local Government has to consider the

question whether Mahatma Gandhi ought or ought not to be arrested. If I am right in my view as to the position of the Ministers in relation to the reserved subjects, then I suggest to my moderate friends that they are under an entire misapprehension when they say, that a majority ~~of~~ the members of the Government are Indians. The truth is, that in relation to the reserved subjects, the Indian element is in a minority and cannot affect the policy of the Government in the slightest degree, provided the Governor and the English members of the Council combine against it.

I have now to consider the position of the Ministers and the relation between the Ministers and the Legislature in regard to the transferred subjects. My first point is, that it is a mistake to suppose that any "subject" has been transferred to the Ministers. I concede that certain departments have been transferred, but I maintain that they have been transferred subject to the encumbrances created by a century of bureaucratic rule, and the Ministers have no power whatever to discharge those encumbrances. I will at once make my meaning clear. Now medical administration is an important department of the State; and so is public health. These departments, I understood, have been transferred to the Ministers, and the Minister, provided he has complete control of the "subject," is in a position to confer a lasting benefit on the community. But what is the position? The Minister has no effective control over the officers who run the departments, and no voice whatever in the selection of his own officers. It is a peculiar circumstance in the history of the bureaucratic rule in India that whenever the people have cried for something essential to their existence, the Government has given them expensive administration, expensive offices and expensive buildings instead. The test

whether the "subject" has been transferred to the Minister is this : Is the Minister for health under the law in a position to take up this attitude, "I will recast the whole system under which these departments have hitherto been administered. I will abolish the Indian Medical Service, and employ local agencies who would know how to disinfect a well and what steps to take in the case of an epidemic. I will then have more money to spend on the needs of the people"? But, no! This attitude the Act denies to him, and yet it is said that the subject has been transferred to him. One of the Ministers in India described his position in bitter terms in the course of a council debate. He complained that if he applied to the Medical department or the Sanitary department for doctors to meet an emergency, they said to him in reply, "We have no doctors". If he took the responsibility of sending doctors to the affected area, the Medical department said to him, "We do not recognise your doctors, and you must pay them out of your own pocket". When I point out to you that the Minister in question is the Minister in charge of the Medical department and Sanitary department, you will grasp the full significance of the "transfer of subjects" that has taken place under the Act. Well might a Minister exclaim, as one actually did, "Silver and gold have I none, but of such as I have I give unto thee", that is sympathy. He added that he could only give sympathy, because the purse was held by somebody else, that is to say, the finance member.

This brings me to a question of great importance, and that is whether the Legislature has any control over the purse. The moderates maintain the affirmative of the proposition ; I maintain the negative. I shall presently refer to the provisions of the Act to support my position ; but I have

a witness of undoubted position and respectability in my favour, whose evidence I should like to place before you. In the course of the general discussion on the budget in one of the councils, a Minister said as follows : "The two poor men who have been put down here as Ministers are presumed to be clothed with all the powers of Ministers in the House of Commons, and therefore they are called upon to account for everything for which perhaps a Minister in the House of Commons is responsible.....The Minister here begins his life by getting a dole of money that is given by those who are in charge of the whole administration." The question is whether the moderates are right or the Minister in question is right. Both may be wrong ; but both cannot be right.

Under the rules framed under the Government of India Act, the framing of proposals for expenditure in regard to transferred and reserved subjects is a matter of agreement between the Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers ; but if they do not agree as to the apportionment of funds between reserved and transferred departments respectively, the Governor , has the power to allocate the revenues and balances of the province between reserved and transferred subjects by specifying the fractional proportions of the revenues and balances which shall be assigned to each class of subject. What, then, is the position ? The moderates proudly assert that the majority of Members of the Government are Indians. If that were so, one would expect the question of apportionment to be decided in accordance with the view of the majority ; but that is not done, because the entire scheme is based on the distrust of the Ministers. We have therefore this result that if the Members and the Ministers are unable to come to an agreement, the matter is decided by the Governor who may act either in accordance

with his own discretion or in accordance with the report of an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General in this behalf on the application of the Governor.

This is the impossible position in which the Minister is placed by the scheme framed under the Act; but what is the position of the Council? Has it any power to say, "We require the funds to be apportioned in the way we suggest and not according to the proposal made by the Government"? Can it say, "We require you to spend so much to fight malaria or so much for primary education"? The Act undoubtedly gives power to the council to refuse its assent to a demand or to reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed, but this is subject to an important proviso, viz. that the local Government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject. This, according to the Moderates, is the effective control which the Legislature has over the purse. It has no power whatever to say in what proportion the revenue of the country should be allocated between reserved and transferred departments respectively; it has no control whatever over the revenue allocated to the reserved subjects. All that it can do is to say to the Ministers, "We refuse our assent to your demand", or, "We reduce the amount referred to in your demand either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the

grant is composed." It is ridiculous to describe the limited control exercisable by the Council in relation to the transferred subjects as "an effective control over the purse".

In administrative matters, the position of the Minister is no better. The Act provides that on relation to transferred subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice. In a dispute between the Minister in charge of the department of health and his officer on a question of policy, it is possible for the Governor to support the officer against the Minister. In matters of legislation in relation to the transferred subjects, there is in theory some power in the legislature, but in practice the finance department, controlled by a member of the Executive Council, would have the last word on the subject ; for I can conceive of no legislation which does not involve expenditure of money, and it is the duty of the finance department ( of which, be it remembered, the Minister is not a Member ) to examine and advise on the scheme of the new expenditure for which it is proposed to make provision in the estimates.

In regard to the whole scheme, it is legitimate to ask, "Does it secure even the elementary rights which every citizen under any civilised Government possesses ? Is repressive legislation impossible under the Act, except with the consent of the people ? Does it give to the people the right to repeal the repressive legislation which disgraces the Statute book to India ? Has a repetition of the Punjab atrocities been made impossible ?" I think I am right in saying, that in regard to all these matters the position is exactly the same as it was before the Reform Act.

### No peace with dishonour.

This, then, is the scheme which is being worked by the Ministers, and we have been solemnly assured by the Moderates that the beginning of Swaraj is to be found in the scheme. Much as I would like to end all unnecessary conflict, I cannot recommend to you the acceptance of the Act as a basis for co-operation with the Government. I will not purchase peace with dishonour, and so long as the Preamble to the Government of India Act stands and our right, our inherent right to regulate our own affairs, develop our own individuality and evolve our own destiny, is not recognised, I must decline to consider any terms of peace.

The only method therefore of warfare open to us is non-co-operation ? and that is the programme which we adopted at two successive Congresses. We are devoted to the doctrine of non-co-operation, and you will not expect me to discuss its ethics. But there are friendly critics whose doubts we ought to dispel, if it is in our power to do so. They say that the doctrine of non-co-operation is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair ; they stand aghast at the narrowness, the exclusiveness which such a doctrine implies ; and they draw our attention to the trend of political events in the world, and they ask us whether there is any hope for a nation that is determined to live a life of isolation.

### What is Non-co-operation ?

I feel bound to answer the questions which have been raised by these critics, and, in doing so, I must ask myself the question, "What is non-co-operation ?" I find it easier to answer the question by considering for a moment what is not non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is not a

refusal to co-operate with the English people because they are English people. Non-co-operation does not advocate a policy of separation, a policy of isolation. Indeed in our conflict with the forces of injustice and unrighteousness, we are not forgetting Him, to quote the words of Ravindranath, "Who is without distinction of class or colour, and Who with his varied SHAKTI makes true provision for the inherent need of each and every class." But before we can join the forces of the world in the missionary enterprise to uplift humanity, it is at least necessary that we should find fulfilment in self-realization and self-development ; for it is only as a nation that has realized itself that we can hope to be of any service to humanity. Let us consider the matter for a moment. Our philosophy recognises that there is an essential unity behind all diversities, and that these diversities, "*Vaichitrya*" if I may use that expression, constitute the "*Lila*" of the Supreme Reality. The whole object of human endeavour, as I understand it, is to reconcile these endless diversities so as to affirm the Supreme Reality. God's *Lila* requires that every manifestation must have an unhampered growth. Every nation on the face of the earth represents such a manifestation. Like the various flowers in a garden the nations must follow their own laws and work out their own destiny, so that in the end they might each and all contribute to the life and culture of humanity. In order that humanity may be served, the ultimate Unity realized, that essential something which distinguishes one nation from another, which I may describe as the individuality of the nation, must have unfettered growth. This is the essence of the doctrine of nationalism for which men have been ready to lay down their lives. Nationalism is not an aggressive assertion of its individuality, distinct and separate

from the other nations, but it is a yearning for self-fulfilment, self-determination and self-realization as a part of the scheme of the universal humanity by which alone humanity can fulfil itself, determine itself and realize itself. Non-co-operation therefore, though it does not refuse co-operation with the English because they are English, will refuse to co-operate with any power or institution which embarrasses in any way the growth of the individuality of the Indian nation or hampers its self-fulfilment. Non-co-operation again does not reject Western culture because it is Western. But it recognises that there must be rejection in order that there may be whole-hearted acceptance. The cry for national education is not a protest against foreign education. But it is a protest against the imposition of foreign culture on India. Subjection is hard to bear, whether it be political or cultural; and indeed, as history shows, cultural subjection must inevitably follow in the wake of political subjection. Our desire for national education is only an endeavour to establish a continuity with the past and to enthrone our culture in our hearts. The doctrine that we preach does not exclude any light that may come from outside; but we say to those who care to listen to us, "First light the lamp that lies neglected in your home; look into the past and realise your present position in the light of the past; and then face the world with courage and receive whatever light that may come from outside."

What then is non-co-operation? I cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of Mr. Stokes; "It is the refusal to be a party to a preventable evil; it is the refusal to accept or have any part in injustice; it is the refusal to acquiesce in wrongs that can be righted, or to submit to a state of affairs which is manifestly inconsistent with the dictates of righteousness. And as a consequence, it is the refusal to work with

those who on grounds of interest or expediency insist upon committing or perpetuating wrong,"

### **Doctrine of Non-co-operation.**

But it is argued that the whole doctrine is a doctrine of negation, a doctrine of despair. I agree that in form the doctrine is one of negation, but I maintain that in substance it is one of affirmation. We break in order to build ; we destroy in order to construct ; we reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavour. If subjection be an evil, then we are bound to non-co-operate with every agency that seeks to perpetuate our subjection. That is a negation ; but it affirms our determination to be free, to win our liberty at any cost. Nor do I agree that the doctrine is one of despair. It is a doctrine of hope and of confidence and of unbounded faith in its efficacy. One has only to look at the faces of the sufferers as they are led to prison to realise that victory is already ours. It is not for nothing that Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, courageous and resourceful, have lived and suffered. It is not for nothing that Lajpat Rai, one of the bravest of spirits that ever faced the sun, flung the order of the Bureaucracy in its face, and marched boldly into the prison that awaited him. It is not for nothing that Motilal Nehru, that prince amongst men, spurned the riches that were his, and defied the order that would enslave him, refusing no pain that the malice of power could invent. Time will not permit me to read to you all the names that are inscribed on the roll of honour ; but I must not forget to mention the students who are at once the hope and the glory of the Motherland. I, who have been privileged to watch the current of political life in its very centre, can testify to the

wonderful courage and unfliching devotion displayed by the students, Theirs is the inspiration behind the movement, theirs the victory. They are the torch-bearers of the time ; they are the pilgrims on the road. If suffering has been their lot, victory is their due.

This, then, is the philosophy on which the non-co-operation movement is based : to defy with absolute constancy the hostile powers that would hamper in any way our growth and self-fulfilment as a nation, to keep its evil always in view, not hating the power but recognising its evil as an evil, and refusing no suffering that the malice of that power can invent. I admit, gentlemen, that the ideal is very high, but I maintain that it is the only method which we can adopt for the early establishment of Swaraj. It requires no wisdom to see that if every one of us withdraws our helping hand from the machine that is relentlessly working to prevent our growth and self-realization as a nation, the machine must of necessity stop its work. We are told, however, that once the machine of government stops its work, we shall be swept a way by the forces of disorder and reaction. There is a simple answer to this argument. The non-co-operation movement can never hope to succeed, unless our forces, are properly organised, and the ethics of the movement properly understood by the nation. If they are not understood, the question will not arise, for we cannot then hope to carry the struggle to a successful termination ; but if they are understood, then the inherent strength of the movement will prevent anarchy and bloodshed. But I cannot disguise from myself the fact that there have been disturbances in Bombay in the course of our propaganda. We must accept responsibility for such disturbances and frankly admit that to the extent to which there has been violence, intimidation, and coercion, we may be said to

have failed. But what is the remedy ? Surely not to abjure our faith, but to see that the faith is properly understood. Bloodshed and disorder have been associated with every great movement that has taken place,—the spread of Christianity for instance. But is it to be argued, that because in the spread of a New idea there is danger of disorder and disturbance as it comes into conflict with old ideals and the old view of life, the missionaries must of necessity stay their hand and decline to carry the light they feel ? Such an argument is not worth a moment's consideration. You may argue if you like that our doctrine has not yet been understood by the people. You may argue if you choose that our programme ought to be revised in the light of the disturbances which have taken place in Bombay. But the fact that disturbances have in fact taken place in a single small area is no argument against the essential truth of our movement. We must meet the situation with courage and devise means to prevent the recurrence of those disturbances ; but I cannot and I will not advise you to stay your hand from the non-co-operation movement. The fact that India has remained calm in spite of the recent arrests shows that the Bombay lesson has gone home. The recent manifestation of courage, endurance and remarkable self-control has in my opinion demonstrated the efficacy and the necessity of non-violent non-co-operation. And nothing can stop our onward march if the same spirit is still further developed and retained to the end.

#### **A question to Lord Reading.**

Ladies and gentlemen, the success of our movement has made a deep impression on the Bureaucracy, if we may judge by the repressive policy which it has initiated and is carrying into effect. I observe that His Excellency the Viceroy

objects to the policy being described as "repressive," but I have yet to know that the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act are part of the ordinary Criminal law of the land. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, these were two of the Acts that were considered by the Committee appointed to examine repressive legislation. It is true that the Committee consisting of an Indian Chairman and six Indian Members out of eight were unable to recommend the repeal of these two Acts. They have only shown what confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. But the fact remains that the Acts were treated as repressive laws and discussed as such. Lord Reading is obviously in error in suggesting, as he has done, that the arrests now being made in Calcutta and in other parts of the India are under the ordinary criminal law of the land. His Excellency asserts that there are organized attempts to challenge the law, and he does not understand what purpose is served by flagrant breach of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest. I would, with all respect, put one question to His Excellency. If Japan planted her national flag on Australia, and gave Australia such freedom and such constitution as we enjoy under Great Britain, neither more nor less, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, if they were determined to win freedom at all costs? And if Japan promulgated repressive laws without the sanction of the Australians, prohibiting meetings and declaring as unlawful all voluntary associations through which alone the Australians could hope to work for national regeneration, what would His Excellency's advice be to the Australians, supposing they solemnly agreed to defy such laws and disregard the orders issued under such laws? I venture to think that His Excellency does not

understand the situation which has arisen in India ; therefore he is puzzled and perplexed. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has adopted the policy of non-co-operation as the only legitimate political weapon available for its use. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has decided to boycott foreign goods, and especially foreign cloth. That is not breaking the law. Rightly or wrongly the Congress has decided to boycott [the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. That is not breaking the law. Now in what way is the Congress to carry on its work except through the voluntary organisations which you have proclaimed under the Indian Criminal law Amendment Act ? In striking at these voluntary organisations, you strike at the Congress propaganda which, you are bound to admit, is not unlawful. Why should it puzzle your Excellency, assuming you credit us with the same amount of patriotism which you have, that we have solemnly resolved to disobey your orders and court imprisonment ? I assert that it is you who have broken the law and not we. You have transgressed the law which secures to every subject freedom of speech and action, so long as the speech and the action do not offend against the ordinary criminal law of the land. You have transgressed the law which secures to the subject the unrestricted right to hold meetings, so long as these meetings do not degenerate into unlawful assemblies. These are the common law rights of the subject which you have transgressed, and I would remind your Excellency that it is on the due observance of these elementary rights that the allegiance of the subject depends.

But then, it is said that these associations interfere with the administrations of the law and with the maintenance of the law and order. If they do, then the ordinary criminal

law is there, and it ought to be sufficient. I have heard of no instance of violence in Calcutta ; certainly none was reported to the police. Charges of violence can be investigated, and therefore they were not made. But charges of threat and intimidation are easy to make, because they cannot be investigated. I would ask the authorities one question : Was any case of threat or intimidation reported to the police ? Has the local Government found, on enquiry, that quite apart from general allegations which can easily be made, there were specific cases of threat or intimidation practised by the non-co-operators on the "loyalists" of Oalcutta ? An English Journalist, signing himself as "Nominis Umbra," gave as his opinion to an English paper in Calcutta that the *hartal* was willingly acquiesced in by the people. We read in "A Ditcher's diary" in *Capital* of the 24th November last, "The people surrendered at discretion, but it was impossible for a careful observer not to see that not only were they for the most part, willing victims of new zoolum, but also that they exulted in the discomfiture of the Sirkar." If that be so, then what case is there for the declaration under Sec. 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act ? Was the position in Calcutta on the 17th November last worse than the position in England when a big strike is in progress ? And is it suggested that there resides any power in the Cabinet of England to put down a strike and prevent picketing ? No, gentlemen, the real object of the application of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act is not to protect society against the threats and intimidation of the non-co-operators, but to crush the Congress and the non-co-operation movements. It is to such threat that you have to return an answer.

### **The visit of Prince of Wales.**

There is another object which the Government has in view : it is to make by threat, intimidation and coercion, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Calcutta a success. On your behalf I would respectfully lay before His Royal Highness our wishes of good-will to him personally. There is no quarrel between us and the Royal House of England ; but he comes here as the ambassador of a power with whom we have decided not to co-operate ; as such we cannot receive him. Also, we are in no mood to take part in any rejoicing. We are fighting for our national existence, for the recognition of our elementary right freely to live our own life and evolve our own destiny according to our lights. It would be sheer hypocrisy on our part to extend a national welcome to the ambassador of the Power that would deny us our elementary rights. There is, in the refusal to extend a national welcome to His Royal Highness, no disrespect either to him or to the Royal House of England. There is only a determination not to co-operate with the Bureaucracy.

### **Mrs. Naidu.**

Having finished reading Srijut C. R. Das's Message Mrs. Naidu said :—

This is the message that comes to us from the Great Hero of Bengal who instead of adorning the " Musnad " of the President to-day has bartered his individual liberty for national freedom, and this is the message of his wife :—

### **Message of Mrs. Das.**

" Let every man and woman in India ask himself or herself today this one supreme question, and this question only—Do I stand for India in her present struggle ?

Let us search our hearts and directly answer it—now or never. We must decide and the responsibility for the decision is ours. The country demands strong and resolute action. If we feel in our heart of hearts that we stand for India in her struggle for freedom then we must act, act, act. We ask for no more. We expect no less. Let therefore every delegate of the Congress be sworn in as a Congress volunteer. Let every man and woman in India to-day offer himself or herself as a Congress volunteer. Let the whole country be mobilised for Congress work. Let all our noble activities be suspended till the struggle in its present form be finished. Men and woman of India, act, act, act—directly act while time is yet.

This also is a clarion call—because in the service of the nation the voice of men and the voice of women may not be divided—neither may their action—neither may their aspiration—neither may their lives—neither may their destiny nor their liberty. (Applause.)

After Mrs. Naidu had finished a delegate translated the messages in Urdu.

This brought the first day's proceedings to a close. The president adjourned the Congress till next day.

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# THE THIRTYSIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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**Ahmedabad, 28th Dec., 1922,**

*Second Day's Proceedings.*

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The Congress resumed its sitting for the second day on the 28th December at 2 p.m. If the first day of the session was an enthusiastic one the second or the last day was no less. The attendance was larger than in the previous day.

Punctually at 2 p.m. the Acting President Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu entered the pandal in a procession with mace bearers in front carrying a flag bearing the inscription "Thirtysixth Indian National Congress President".

## *The Proceedings.*

The proceedings began with the singing of national and highly patriotic songs sung by a choir of girls.

After Dr. Ansari had finished reading the telegraphic messages of sympathy, the President requested Mahatma Gandhi to place the Resolution standing in his name before the house. He allotted two hours for its discussion—half an hour to Mahatma Gandhi the mover, 10 minutes the seconder and 5 minutes each supporter.

Mahatma Gandhi then climbed the rostrum and moved the following Resolution

### The Central Resolution.

Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

And whereas by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viccroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the Volunteer Organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the Resolution of the working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd

day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge :—

### **The Pledge.**

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

(1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.

(2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

(4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

(5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with an endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.

(6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers, and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

### **Call to the Country.**

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and in as much as even Committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises holding of Committee meetings, and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

### **On Civil Disobedience.**

This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or associations has been tried and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate

attention upon civil disobedience whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

### **Call to Students.**

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of national volunteer corps.

### **Mahatma Gandhi invested with full powers.**

In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors

to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

### **Congratulations.**

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

### **Mahatma Gandhi's Speech.**

After he had read paragraph by paragraph the Resolution and given Hindi rendering of same Mahatamaji delivered his short but soul-stirring speech in ringing words and burning language.

Mahatama Gandhi said :—Hakim Sahib, brothers and sisters.

It has taken me exactly 35 minutes to read the resolution in English and in Hindustani. I shall hope, if I can at all avoid it-not to take even the 30 minutes that Hakimji Saheb has allotted to me. And I do not propose if I can help it to take all that time because I feel that the resolution explains itself. If at the end of fifteen months' incessant activity, you the delegates assembled in this Congress do not know your own minds I am positive that I cannot possibly carry conviction to you even in a two hours' speech; and what is more, if I could carry conviction to you to-day because of my speech I am afraid I would lose all faith in my country-

men; because it would demonstrate their incapacity to observe things and events—it would demonstrate their incapacity to think coherently ; because, I submit, there is absolutely nothing new in this resolution that we have not been doing all this time—that we have not been thinking all this time. There is absolutely nothing new in this resolution which is at all startling. Those of you who have followed the proceedings from month to month of the Working Committee, of the All India Congress Committee every three months and have studied their resolutions, can but come to one conclusion, that this resolution is absolutely the natural result of the national activities during the past fifteen months ; and if you have at all followed the course, the downward course, that the repressive policy of the Government has been taking, you can only come to the conclusion that the Subjects Committee has rightly come to this resolution ; and that the only answer that a self-respecting nation can return to the Viceregal pronouncements and to the repression that is overtaking this land, is the course mapped out in this resolution.

### **The bearing of the Resolution.**

I am not going to take the time of the English knowing friends over the religious subtleties of the pledge that the volunteers have to take. I wish to confine my remarks in Hindustani to that subject. But I want this assembly to understand the bearing of this resolution. This resolution means that we have outgrown the stage of helplessness and dependence upon anybody ; this resolution means that the nation through its representatives is determined to have its own way without the assistance of any single human being on earth and with the help of only God above.

This resolution, whilst it shows the indomitable courage and the determination of the nation to vindicate its rights

and to be able to stare the world in the face, also says in all humility to the Government: 'No matter what you do, no matter how you repress us, we shall one day wring reluctant repentance from you; and we ask you to think betimes, and take care what you are doing and see that you do not make 300 millions of India your eternal enemies.

### **Door open for Government.**

This resolution, if the Government sincerely wants an open door, leaves the door wide open for it. If the moderate friends wish to rally round the standard of the Khilafat, and round the standard of the liberties of the Punjab and therefore of India, then this resolution leaves the door wide open for them too. If this Government is sincerely anxious to do justice, if Lord Reading has really come to India to do justice and nothing less,—and we want nothing more,—then I inform him from this platform, with God as my witness, with all the earnestness that I can command, that he has got an open door in this resolution if he means well, but the door is closed in his face if he means ill, no matter how many people go to their graves, no matter what wild career this repression is to go through.

### **A real Conference of equals.**

There is every chance for him to hold a round table conference, but it must be a real conference. If he wants a conference at a table, where only equals are to sit and where there is not to be a single beggar, then there is an open door and that door will always remain open. There is nothing in this resolution which any one who has modesty and humility need be ashamed of.

### **Challenge to authority.**

This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody but it is a challenge to authority that is enthroned on arrogance. It is a challenge to the authority which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is a humble and an irrevocable challenge to authority which in order to save itself wants to crush freedom of opinion and freedom of association—the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breath the oxygen of liberty; and if there is any authority in this country that wants to curb the freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say in your name, from this platform, that that authority will perish, unless it repents before an India that is steeled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, even if every one of the men and women who choose to call themselves Indians is blotted out of the earth.

### **No peace at any price.**

God only knows, if I could possibly have advised you before to go to the round table conference, if I could possibly have advised you not to undertake this resolution of Civil Disobedience, I would have done so.

I am a man of peace. I believe in peace. But I do not want peace at any price. I do not want the peace that you find in stone; I do not want the peace that you find in the grave; but I do want that peace which you find embedded in the human breast, which is exposed to the arrows of a whole world but which is protected from all harm by the Power of the Almighty God.

I do not want to take any more time of you, delegates. I do not want to insult your intelligence by saying a word more in connection with this Resolution (Cheers).

Mahatamji spoke both in Hindi and English and took thirty minutes.

*Mr. Patel Seconds the Resolution.*

Mr. V. J. Patel in scconding the resolution said that not only did he fully support the resolution, but he agreed with every word that had fallen from the lips of the Mahatma. Never was there such a crisis in the destiny of India under the British as now. Thirty crores of Indians had fallen under British slavery. Lord Reading, who had come to India to give her pure justice, had told them that swaraj could only be obtained in two ways ; one by means of sword and the other, by way of gift or *bakshish*. If India wanted Swaraj they were told that they must win it by sword or from the British people as a gift. There was no other way. The resolution only asked for what they had demanded both at Nagpur and Calcutta. He would tell the Govenrment that there was a third way to Swaraj and that was Civil Disobedience and the time had come for them to put it into force. He hoped every Indian heart would be glad to know that it was so. Every one of them, man and woman, must either go to jail or die, or get Swaraj. If they had not the courage to go to jail or die, he asked them to vote against the resolution. If they thought that without Civil Disobedience, without going to jail, without making themselves ready for death, they could get Swaraj then they must vote against the resolution. When they voted for the resolution they either consented to go to jail or die. If they were unable to win Swaraj it was better they should disappear from the face of the earth. If they agreed with these things, then let them vote for this resolution.

### **Warning to Government.**

He wanted to address a word to the Government. Let the Government tell them what they wished to do in this connection.

Indians wanted liberty and full liberty as was mentioned in the proclamations. The only difference between the people and the Government was this that Government never kept their promise. Therefore the Indians would no longer place their faith in any such promise. If the Government meant well then let them grant Swaraj to the Indians—now and immediately. He warned the Government against wanton repression. If they suppressed the Congress movement which worked in open daylight there would spring up secret societies as was in Bengal. Therefore he warned the Government against repression.

He appealed to the moderates not to non-co-operate with the Congress but to non-co-operate with a Government which wanted to take away the elementary rights of citizens.

### **Support to Resolution.**

**Maulana Abdul Majid**—in supporting the Resolution said that the Congress wanted action not words. Let them stand firmly by the Resolution until they had reached their goal. Civil Disobedience was their only weapon and they must make the fullest use of it.

**Maulana Suleman Nadir**—in rising to support the Resolution said that this non-violent non-co-operation was not only for India but for the whole world. If they did not make their endeavours in a non-violent manner there would be not only bloodshed but factions between the various communities. Their goal was clear. Whatever provocation might be given them they would never resort to violence.

**Srimati Mangala Devi**—said India was a land proud of her spiritual culture and she believed that the new force that was created in India would not only benefit her sons but the whole of humanity. She gave her wholehearted support to the resolution.

### **Sri Shankaracharya's Speech.**

Swami Sri Bharati Krishna Teertha Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Shri Sharada Peeth then seconded the Resolution with the following speech in English.

Sisters and brothers, it is now one year since we resolved to begin the programme of Non-co-operation in the normal session of the Congress at Nagpur; and the preamble to that resolution stated that because the Government refused to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and because we were determined to achieve Swarajya within the year, therefore we had no option but to declare non-co-operation with the Government. One year has passed now and it behoves us to think of our duty at the present day and to prolong our fight. It is under these circumstances that we meet today. We find that far from redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and devising a satisfactory scheme of Swaraj the Government has gone to the extent of declaring unlawful even the activities of the Khilafat and Congress Volunteers Associations. Under these circumstances we have to think of the next step that we should adopt in order to achieve our purpose.

We find in the second place that the highest representative in the judicial line of His Majesty the King of England in India has declared openly or virtually that the whims and orders of petty officials of Government are superior to God's Law—superior to the imperial Proclamations of three successive sovereigns of England and also to their own regular laws.

On the other hand we find every ethical and religious code-insists that God's law is superior to man's. What should we do under these circumstances? We cannot go back upon our policy of non-co-operation. That is absolutely unthinkable. We began non-co-operation because we wanted the Khilafat and the Punjab wrong to be redressed and the Swaraj to be achieved. None of these three things have taken place and therefore if we are to be faithful to our pledge taken at Nagpur last year we should have no justification for going back an inch from the policy of non-co-operation. On the other hand the repression and injustice having progressed in the opposite direction, it is our duty to think of further steps and not of retracing what we have taken.

And therefore specially because God's law has been throttled down and man's law prevails it is our duty to declare, unwillingly though, civil disobedience towards all unrighteous orders. Civil disobedience is an elementary spiritual duty in the face of all unrighteous orders. We in India have the example of *Prahlad* who disobeyed the unrighteous orders of his father the King *Hiranyakashipu*. In the scripture of the Christians—we have in the Old Testament the example of Daniel which is also on a par with that of Prahlad. It is in all the scriptures of the world—the elementary principle that a man shall not for any worldly cause whatsoever whether out of fear or for favour disobey the law of God—the law which he regards as divine. It is just because of this elementary principle that the Ali brothers and others at Karachi have their loyalty put to the test. It is because of this elementary principle they cheerfully went to jail. Their whole defence was that the Islamic law which they regarded as the divine law gave them no alternative but to take their stand upon it and which they did. If we believe, if any-

person here believes that God's law is superior to man's—that the individual conscience is the final arbitrator in matters pertaining to religion and morality, he has no option but to stick to the principle of Civil Disobedience with regard to all unrighteous orders. Therefore it is that the programme of Civil Disobedience has become the duty of the country to adopt.

While I say this with utmost gladness, I am unfortunately in such a position that I cannot honestly say that I see eye to eye with the mover and other speakers in the programme laid before you. Because I believe that Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience in order to be effective, looking at it merely from an wordly point of view depend upon the united co-operation of all the people in the country. If all of us will co-operate amongst ourselves and non-co-operate with the Government, every department, nay, every office of the Government must come not to a comma—not to a semi-colon or a colon but to a fulstop (Laughter). If we give room for unnecessary controversy inside ourselves our progress will to that extent be weakened. We already have divisions in the camp owing to the Moderates or co-operators as they are called holding aloof from us. I may tell you with reference to the Karachi Case that if the Moderates had stood side by side with the Nationalists there was no chance of that conviction of the six of the accused there.

Under these circumstances I feel that it is the duty of the Congress not to force upon others, who disagree from us, the view which we earnestly take. I refer to one clause—the first part of the pledge which the programme requires every volunteer to take, that is, with regard to the question of untouchability. I spoke last year at Nagpur on the resolution when this question was taken up and you will remember that

that resolution called upon the religious people of India to take vigorous steps for the elevation of the depressed classes. Therefore you will acquit me of any intention to go back or to take a reactionary attitude in the matter. But my position is this : Just as we demand the liberty of our conscience for ourselves so we shall give the others the same. And from this point of view too God's law should be placed above man's and this principle should be applied to all equally. I do not say that we have any right to force others to take the same view. So too we should give to others the same liberty. If we have a large member of people who satisfy our requirements in every other respect but do not see eye to eye with us, we have no justification from this general point of view of principle or of expediency to coerce them to accept our view on pain of being shut out from all possibility of participation in this national work.

That is why I say that there ought to be a separate resolution in the nature of a recommendation on this subject and it should not be made a restriction.

Similarly we find that the Resolution speaks of the wearing of Khadi only to the exclusion of every other kind of cloth. And the Delhi Resolution with regard to Civil Disobedience requires every civil resister to know how to spin and weave. I have no objection to that. But I do not feel justified for insisting that a person who fulfils all the other recommendations including the one about untouchability but is unable to weave or spin for himself should be debarred from becoming a worker, because he cannot wear Khadi. Shall he therefore unhesitatingly kill a cow if called upon to do so by official order ? Shall he obey such order or disobey it? Evidently according to the programme he will not be

allowed to disobey it, at any rate under the auspices of the Congress.

These and some other elementary matters regarding liberty of conscience excepting, I am fully with the Resolution. I am for a complete policy of Non-co-operation and for civil disobedience to all orders of an unrighteous character —the unrighteousness being determined by the individual conscience under the dictates of ethical and religious codes to which we are pledged by our religion.

With these words, I would desire that the various parts of the Resolution may be put to the vote, clause by clause and not put before the audience as one substantive proposition which should either be accepted or rejected. I am unfortunately in the position that I do not support it entirely nor do I oppose it entirely.

With these words I would ask you to consider the question carefully and come to a decision as to the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the establishment of real Swaraj (Cheers).

### **Parsi Support.**

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said that the Parsi community fully supported the resolution. It was Dadabhai Naoroji who had first unfurled the banner of Swaraj at Calcutta, and it was impossible that the Parsis could lag behind in this struggle for Swaraj.

### **Mrs. Naidu's Speech.**

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in further supporting the resolution in eloquent and impassioned words said ; "Citizens of the India of which we dream to-day, but which we shall achieve to-morrow, you have heard representatives of all the great reli-

gions of India to-day. You have heard the Moslem, the Hindu and the Sikh. You have heard the men and the women speak. I speak not as representing any religion, any province, any sex to-day, but arrogant as it might seem, in all humility, I say, I speak as the Spirit of Free India. (Hear, hear.) Therefore. I stand up to offer my support to this great resolution which has been placed before you not in the manner of resolutions of 36 years' experience of resolutions from the platform of the National Congress, but which has been thundered out to you with the voice of a prophet from the mountain top of vision and of hope. (Cheers). I am not one who cares for Governments or authorities. I care only for principles and ideals. I am not one who panders to expediencies. I acknowledge and follow only the wisdom of the ever living Truth. Therefore, if I stand before you to speak, it is because I am the voice of your own heart, the very innermost secret surging voice of your own conscience, your own aspirations, your own hopes, your own certainty.

### A Challenge.

What does this resolution say? What does it mean? What challenge does it throw? What does it affirm? What does it deny? It denies the right of a most powerful Government on earth to trample on the heart and soul of a living nation. What does it affirm? It affirms, in the words of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, that "Liberty is our Birth-right", and we shall have Liberty to day. What is the challenge thrown to the Government? It says, as Mahatama Gandhi so wonderfully put it that the door is open. March with us to that destined goal that we see before us to-day when you and your children, O Rulers of Britain, might eclipse side by side with us in friendship and comradeship! But unless you realise

that it is not by the might of the sword but by the invincible, slender, fragile, silken cord of Love that nations can be bound together, you have no place in our midst.

### **Building up Edifice of Freedom.**

And what is the answer to Repression ? The answer is that those dozens of delicately nurtured women who having sent their sons, husbands, and fathers to prison, have come to-day to take their place to carry on the torches in the words of Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, to be the pilgrims on the road and to build up the edifice of your freedom with their corpse if death be necessary. As soon might you tell the sun to rise at dawn as to say to India : "Don't move towards your destined freedom"—as soon might you say to the Ganges, "cease to flow"—as to say to the sacred spirit of Indian woman-hood, "don't flow towards the sea of "Liberty." You might as well say to the earth, "cease to flower in the spring," and to the Stars in the Sky at midnight, "don't shine," as to say to the young ones amongst us, "don't join the volunteer corps." Do I not know what the younger generation can endure, what it can achieve ? During those dreadful few days in Bombay when it seemed that the whole of our work was to be cast in ruins—who was it that saved the situation ?—Who, not only the fast of the Saint within his cell but the endurance, the courage, the sacrifice of my young Volunteers—who stood, night and day fearlessly, bloodshed around them, death around them, disaster around them, but true to their post, the symbol of the Indian Victory ? Therefore I do not share the fear of Shree Shankaracharya nor of any one else who thinks that India will give her divided support to this proposition. There is no division in India to-day, no caste, no tradition of caste.—No tyranny of caste can keep the

untouchables from being the comrade, and the equals of the twice-born Brahmin in their March to Freedom. (hear hear). Therefore, in the name of the Youngmen of India, the young women of India, the old men and the oldwomen of India, the oldest men and the oldest women of India, I pledge the lives, the souls and all of every Indian to this great cause and say : " In this great land, may there be peace " because we win only through peace. (Continued applause.)

After Khawja Abdul Rahaman Ghazi and an Akali Sikh Delegate had further supported the Resolution, it was put to the meeting and was passed with acclamation, there being only ten dissentients of which one was doubtful.

### **Resolutions from the Chair.**

#### *Slight changes in Constitution.*

Mr. V. J. Patel then read on behalf of the President the following minor changes in the working of the constitution. They were carried unanimously.

In Article 4, instead of the age of 21 read the age of 18. At the end of the Article 7, add "provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organizations."

At the end of Article 8, add "members of the All-India Congress Committee shall become ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of the elected and the exofficio members of the All-India Congress Committee in their province from the number of the delegates they are entitled to return."

In Clause 5 of the Article 8, remove the brackets after "single transferable vote" and add "or by any other method."

In Clause 2 of the article 10 after "past, present of the Congress" add "if they sign the Congress Creed and are members of any Congress Association." In the same Clause

after "shall" add "elected president." In Article 25 after "the general Secretaries" add "and 2 Treasurers."

Among the other resolutions put from the chair was one proposing minor changes in the constitution so as to make it incumbent on ex-Presidents to sign the Congress Creed and treating the All-India Congress Committee Members ex-officio delegates of the Congress as under the old constitution.

Another resolution which was put to the vote from the chair was also unanimously carried. It reads as follows :—

This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Doctor Ansari and Srijut C. Rajagopalachari as the General Secretaries of this Congress for the year 1922 and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari are now in jail, appoints Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajon respectively to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.

"This Congress re-appoints Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj and Sheth Chotani as the treasurers of the Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer."

The following further Resolutions were moved from the chair.

### **Congratulation to the Sikhs.**

This Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Bahu Gurudit Singhji, the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak steamer, who willingly surrendered himself, after seven years' fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the nation and also congratulates other six leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the Police and the Military.

**An Appeal.**

This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition and if Hindus to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

**The Moplah disturbance.**

This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District authorities for six months before the disturbance but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could

have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

### **Turks Congratulated.**

This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

#### *A condemnation.*

This Congress deplores the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

### **Change of Creed.**

The President next announced that Moulana Hasrat Mohani would move a resolution pressing for the change of the Creed of the Congress.

**Moulana Hasrat Mohani** in proposing his resolution on complete Independence made a long and impassioned speech in Urdu. He said although they had been promised last year Swaraj, the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs within a year they had so far achieved nothing of the sort. Therefore it was no use sticking to the programme. If remaining within the British Empire or the British Commonwealth they could not have freedom, he felt that if necessary they

should not hesitate to go out of it. In the words of Lok. Lilak "liberty was their birthright" and any Government which denied this elementary right of freedom of speech and freedom of action did not deserve allegiance from the people. Home Rule on dominion lines or Colonial Self-Government could not be a substitute to them for their in-born liberty. A Government which could clap into jail such distinguished leaders of the people as Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and others, had forfeited all claim to respect from the people. And since the end of this year did not bring them Swaraj nothing should prevent them from taking the only course left open to them now, that of winning their freedom free from all foreign control. The resolution reads as follows :—

*"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Sawraj or complete independence free from all foreign control by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."*

Mr. R. Venkataram of the Bombay Chronicle in seconding the Resolution said : I stand before you to-day and second the Resolution that has been moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani. I know that the Resolution is quite explicit and it does not require many words from me and I do not want to inflict a speech at this stage. I only hope that you will appreciate the need for explicitness and frankness and heartily vote for this Resolution.

Swami Kumarnath (a Bengali Sanyasi) in supporting the Resolution said that nothing could satisfy the people at such a time short of complete independence. It was impossible to be under a Government which had adopted such a wholesale repressive policy restricting the actions and liberties of the people and sending to jail such great patriots as Lala

Lajpat Rai, Das and others. The grant of the Dominion Home Rule could not appease their hunger for complete independence.

Mr. Yakub Ali Khan of U. P. in supporting the Resolution said : all that we want is to keep it as an ideal. If we are not in a position to declare our independence at this moment at least you will allow to have it as an ideal and fulfill it in no time. I should say we would do our level best to achieve it at the shortest possible time. With these few words I support the Resolution.

Mr. U. P. Alwar of Andhra further according his support to the resolution said that even the lowest animal of the creation wanted freedom. Wherever there are men they want to be free and when this is so, he said, is it wrong for the Indians to aim to be free and not to be anything else. The British Government in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria declared that their only mission was to help India. And that the English had come, as they declare, simply to help us to be independent, and as such what harm is there to declare and to say that our aim is to be free—separate from the British Empire?

### **Mahatma Gandhi's Speech in Opposition.**

Mahatma Gandhi in opposing the Resolution said (after having addressed the delegates in Hindi) : Friends, I have said only a few words (in Hindi) in connection with the proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. All I want to say to you in English is that the levity with which that proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows a lack of responsibility. As responsible men and women we should go back to the days of Nagpur and Calcutta and we should remember what we did only an

hour ago. Ah hour ago we passed a resolution which actually contemplates a final settlement of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and transference of the power from the hands of the bureaucracy into the hands of the people by certain definite means. Are you going to rub the whole of that position from your mind by raising a false issue and by throwing a bomb-shell in the midst of the Indian atmosphere? I hope that those of you who have voted for the previous resolution will think fifty times before taking up this resolution and voting for it. We shall be charged by the thinking portion of the world that we do not know really where we are. Let us understand too our limitations. Let Hindus and Musalmans have absolute, indissoluble unity. Who is here who can say to-day with confidence, "Yes, Hindu Muslim Unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian Nationalism? Who is here who can tell me that the Parsis and the Sikhs and the Christians and the Jews and the untouchables about whom you heard this afternoon—who will tell me that those very people will not rise against any such idea? Think therefore fifty times before you take a step which will redound not to your credit, not to your advantage, but which may cause you irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength; let us first of all sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know, and this proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani lands you into depths unfathomable. I ask you in all confidence to reject that proposition, if you believe in the proposition that you passed only an hour ago. The proposition now before you rubs off the whole of the effect of the proposition that you passed only a moment ago. Are creeds such simple things like clothes which a man can change at will? For creeds people die and for creeds people live from age to age. Are you going to change

the creed which with all deliberation, and after great debate in Nagpur, you accepted ? There was no limitation of one year when you accepted that creed. It is an extensive creed ; it takes in all, the weakest and the strongest, and you will deny yourselves the privilege of clothing the weakest amongst yourselves with protection if you accept this limited creed of Maulana Hasrat Mohani which does not admit the weakest of your brethren. I therefore ask you in all confidence to reject his proposition.

### **Maulana Mohani's Reply.**

Moulana Hasrat Mohani in replying to the debate said what he wanted to say was that they should keep independence before themselves as their idea. He did not mean to say that if anything less were given, they should reject it. One year had gone by and their wrongs were not yet redressed and what guarantee was there that they would ever have the power to do so. He wanted the Congress to have the ideal of complete independence. Lok. Tilak had said that "Swaraj was their birthright" and he did not see any harm in putting down complete independence as their ideal.

The President in putting the resolution to vote said it was contended that Swaraj which was their ideal had two meanings and Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted Swaraj to mean complete independence.

The resolution was put to vote and was found lost by a majority, a substantial minority having voted for it.

### **The Session closed.**

This finished the resolutions before the Congress.

The President said he wanted to congratulate the Con-

gress on passing the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi. They must understand that in passing the resolution they had shouldered a very great responsibility and he hoped they would not be found wanting in their day of trial. He thanked the Reception Committee and volunteers for all they had done to make the Congress the great success it was.

### **Thanks to Resident.**

Mr. C. V. Vijayaraghavachariar then moved a vote of thanks to the President who, he said, had managed the business so very well. Hakimji, he added, was the greatest believer in the Hindu-Muslim unity.

Swami Shradhanandji said he had been working with the Hakimji for the last three years in Delhi and they should consider themselves fortunate in having such a gentleman as their President. They both loved each other as dear brothers.

The resolution was passed.

A vote of thanks was then proposed to the Reception Committee and was passed. Mr. Vallabbhbhai Patel in replying said they had to work under great stress owing to the wild rumours consequent to the disturbances in Bombay.

After a very inspiring song by a choir of ladies, the President declared the session closed.

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## **ADDRESS OF MONSIEUR PAUL RICHARD.**

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***From 'Young India'.***

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### **India of the Future.**

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[The Congress Reception Committee, it will be remembered, arranged a series of non-political addresses by distinguished men irrespective of parties. Mr. Paul Richard was among those who accepted the invitation of the Committee. The following is the text of his address which is a translation of the original in French. Srimati Sarojini Naidu read the translation to a select audience in the Gujarat National College on the 31st December. Mr. Gandhi presided.]

*Citizens of future India.*

Pardon me, if I can only speak to you in French. My own ignorance of the languages of the people among whom I pass increases my solitude and my silence. It enables me better to listen to the voice of God. Because I cannot understand the languages of India, I can listen better to the soul of India. Who can speak to the soul of people, unless the soul of the people speaks to him ?

Pardon me, I am but a man—a poor man, who has no country, no people. My people is that which has not yet come to birth. My country is that which is of the Future. That is why I have made myself a vagabond, a citizen of the whole world, wandering among all peoples, seeking in the midst of them all, that country, that people which is to

come. A people without selfishness, a country without frontiers, with no limits or limitations. A people new-born, with no routine or superstition, with no *pardah* or caste, with no *pariahs*, with no injustices. A country with no ignorance, with no famished people, wherein the greatest will be those who have made themselves most poor; wherein the most powerful are the most disinterested. A country without priests, wherein everyone is the servant-priest of God.

And I come to-day, on the eve of this New Year and of this New Era, into this besieged fortress, in order to say to India in her renewal.

Be that people! Be that country!

Is not this thy sacred mission, to be among the nations of the earth a people of the Spirit, to give to all mankind an example, a lesson of true spirituality? Thou hast been in past ages the light of the world. Become so again. But in order to become so, make no claim to be so. Say not in thy heart, 'I alone am a spiritual people.' When any people or men believe themselves to be higher than others, then they fall lower than others. Say not in thy heart: 'I am the elect nation. I am the chosen people.' For many nations believe themselves to be the elect. But the elect people is that which thinks least of itself; which forgets itself in the service of others.

The elect people is always that people which is the first to rise from its own past in order to lead others forward into the future; which is the first to renounce its ancient ideas, beliefs, traditions, in order to receive the new idea, that creates the New Era. The elect people is that which allows itself to be instructed by all in order to become the instructor of all; which realises first in itself the law of the spirit, the life of the spirit, in order to reveal it to others.

For the life of the spirit is not a mere belief in Spirit. Spiritualism is not the same as Spirituality. There are men who deny the Spirit and call themselves materialists, and yet their whole lives are masterpieces of true Spirituality, an anonymous creation of the Spirit. And it is often among those, who style themselves spiritual, that the true life of the Spirit is least to be found.

The life of the spirit does not consist in ignorance of matter. Spirit does not ignore matter. It organises, it impregnates, it beautifies, it transfigures matter.

The soul's egoism, its indifference towards the obscurity of form, its refusal to accomplish in the midst of chaos the work of light, its failure to spiritualise matter,—this is true materialism.

Nor again is the life of the spirit the attachment to any external and formal cult of the spirit. Spirit does not cling to its forms. It renews them. The conservatism of forms, formulae, and formalities, the superstitions of ancient books and ancient rites, fixity, that is limitation in time as well as in space, the inertia of soul, its refusal to follow the spirit in its perpetual renewal,—this is true materialism. The materialism is first of all that of religion, that of life.

O India, thou People of the Spirit, thy mission above all is to conquer this materialism within, to die to the dead past in order to take birth in the future. For peoples, as well as men, have to die and to be born again, to die to themselves in order to become as new born children.

Woe to the peoples that remain looking to where the sun had set, sitting in the darkness and repeating, "There was the Light." Woe to the peoples that wander like aged men, seeking everywhere their lost past, and knowing neither how to live, nor how to die, nor how to be born again.

O thou, people of the Spirit, look forward! Renounce everything in order to receive, not what others have, but that which none has yet received and thou hast to give to all.

Thou art one of the most ancient nations of the world. Is it not thy mission, thy message to the world to show to all how nations can have a great past and yet not remain buried under its ruins?

O thou, whose soul for centuries escaped, breaking forth from the worlds below to those above, to find there the things to come, the life of the future, is it not thy mission, thy message to the world to show to all what the Spirit can achieve, when it descends again from its inaccessible heights to the lower plane of men, their cities, their nations, their temples, in order to create everywhere its new forms of victorious life?

O thou, who wast once enslaved, but art to be enslaved no longer in the future, is it not thy mission, thy message to the world, to show to all mankind how nations, by complete self-renewal from within, by breaking the fetters of the past, by securing inner freedom, can spring up free also from those fetters that are without?

O people, manifold and divided, assembly of nations whose problem is one of the most complex and difficult in the world, is it not thy mission, thy message to the world, to show how a nation of diverse creed and languages can become one, not by the law of the sword, but by the law of the heart founding an Empire, not of force, but of love?

Is it not thy mission to show to the world, how religions with their rival cults and warring sects, can reunite and commune together in the supreme worship of the living Infinite, which embraces, transcends and crowns them all?

O thou, who art one of the most numerous and vast

among the peoples of the world, is it not thy mission to show to the world how nations can be truly great, not by shutting themselves in, not by imprisoning themselves with iron bars, but by overthrowing all barriers, by opening thyself to all so as to form in company with all the one perfect family, the peaceful, blissful, blessed family of humanity?

Arise, therefore, People of the Spirit, rise up! Break open the seals of the closed book of thy destiny. Arise, with the rising dawn, and spread your wings in the full sky, thy two wings of Love and Faith.

By Faith, make alliance with the future. By Love, become united with all peoples. Let Love create the future in thee, so that the future may create love in all.

Arise, and become the servant of the future. The masters of to-morrow are those who make themselves the servants of to-morrow.

Arise, not to be free, but to be great. Freedom follows the course of greatness, as the morning star follows the course of the sun. Be great that thou mayst also be free.

The ideal of some is only that thou shouldst be free to be a nation in the fashion of other nations of the world, with Stock Exchange and a Parliament, a place where thy soul can be sold, and another place where it can be frittered away in vain talk. Their ambition is that thou shouldst become a mere copy of the nations of Europe, receiving from them their worn-out idols, and giving them thy worn-out Gods.

But the Spirit in thee has other thoughts. It will fashion thee into a divine nation, when the politician shall be replaced by the sage, and the moneyed man shall be replaced by the *Rishi*, that spiritual State, that superior State, having its centre, for governance, a Council of Sages, and above it a Council of humanity; and higher still above, a divine symbol,

a throne of the Lord of the Nations, the only true and supreme Sovereign of the peoples.

Thus, India, thou shalt not become what others are, nor remain in thy present condition, but thou shalt extirpate from within the sin,—the sin of the soul against Love, the sin which as yet thou hast only half recognised and half confessed.

For it was only said : “ Untouchability is our national sin.” But I say unto you, “ Every division is sin. Caste, the present Spirit of Caste, of which Untouchability is but the symptom and the effect, that is the national sin.”

Thou shalt, therefore, extirpate this sin ; thou shalt restore unity, fraternity ; thou shalt bring back the harmony of love within, in order that thou mayst be its messenger without, its living messenger in the eyes of all. For it is Love which ever was and ever will be, in the future as in the past ages, thy message divine.

Therefore, O India, people of the Spirit, if now thou wilt be free, it cannot be by selfishness. It must be without hate, so as to be able to love.

If thou wilt be free, it is, it must be, not in order to be parted from those with whom destiny has united thee, but to be united with them by the tie of love mightier than that of might.

It is, it must be, not to oppose, not to make more distant the East and the West, but to make them draw nearer together, to make them more and more allied, by being thyself allied, not with one people of the West but with all.

If thou wilt be free, if thou wilt belong to no one, it is in order to give thyself to all. It is to be able to associate thyself, not only with all the West, but with all the East ; to be able to go forth from thy own border not in war array, as a slave who is sent to fight with and to enslave his own

brother, but as a friend and as a helper of those who would be free.

If thou wilt be free, it is to be no more and nowhere an instrument of death, but everywhere and evermore a worker of Love. It is to accomplish everywhere the mission, the great mission of the soul in this world.

Listen and let the soul weep over the world. For this world is made out of a great sorrow rising from the abyss which has to be comforted. This world is made out of a great obscurity, a great ignorance which has to be enlightened. This world is made out of a great bitterness, a great wrath rising from the abyss, which has to be assuaged, which has to be appeased. This world is made out of all the misery of beings. It is the meeting place where all that comes from below rises to seek all that comes from above ; and the greater the distress from below, the greater the gloom and the violence, the more divine also is the Love which descends. Thus, from age to age, the worlds go forward. For the more dark those ages become, the more glorious the manifestations which they prepare.

To-day, in this age of 'Kali Yuga' from the depth has arisen a supreme Asura. Announce, therefore, to the world the coming of a Supreme Lord, of a Supreme Love, of a Love which had never before descended. O India, by its splendour, once more, in saving thyself, save the beings and the nations.

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## **ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE**

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(Ahmedabad, Dec. 30th 1921.)

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### **The Presidential Address.**

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### **PLEA FOR INDIAN REPUBLIC.**

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### *“ Independence ” Resolution.*

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Ahmedabad on December 30th, 1921 under the Presidency of Moulana Hasrat Mohani under a specially erected pandal. The attendance was large. Among those present were Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Vijaibraghavachariar, Mr. Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, Dr. Ansari and others. Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates traced the history of the Muslim League and concluded that after the great help of the Hindus on the Khilafat question and after finding that the League and the Congress had the same objects he thought that the League should cease to be a separate and distinct body and that it should merge itself into the Congress.

The President Moulana Hasrat Mohani then delivered his address.

### **President's Message.**

Following is the full text of the authorised translation of the address which Moulana Hasrat Mohani delivered on 30th

December, it was from begining to end a plea for declaration on the first January, 1922, of an Indian Republic called the United States of India. He said :—

Gentlemen, while thanking you for electing me to preside over this session of the All-India Moslem League, I wish to say in all sincerity that the importance of this session of the League in which the fate of Hindustan is to be decided required the choice of a person abler than myself such as Moulana Mahammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew or Moulana Abul Kalam Azad to preside over its deliberations. But unfortunately the Government has forcibly taken away the first two gentlemen from amongst us while Moulana Azad \* expressed his inability to accept the responsibility. Consequently, as the proverb goes " if thou dost not accept it willingly it will be forced on thee," this great duty was placed on my shoulder. I will try to discharge it to the best of my ability, but success is in the hand of God.

The present condition of the League appears to be very weak indeed; but this does not in the least derogate from its real importance, for, it was the All-India Moslem League which actually realised the first and the most essential condition of Indian independence, the Hindu-Muslim unity. And now that it has been achieved it is for the League to maintain it also. Besides it is on the platform of the League that all sections of political opinion amongst the Musalmans, extremists or moderates, have so far been and in future will probably be brought together.

Before going into the causes of the weakness of the League it will be better to enumerate its aims and objects

\* Note :—Maulana Azad had since been arrested and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under sec. 194A, I.P.C.

These are: (1) The attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means; (2) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interest of the Indian Musalmans; (3) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India; (4) to maintain and strengthen the brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

### **India's Ideal.**

The first of these is also known to be the creed of the "Congress." Therefore so long as the word Swaraj is not defined in consonance with the Muslim desire and the means for its attainment are not amplified it is only natural that the Muslim interests in the League should be meagre. The third object which is Hindu-Muslim unity is the common object both of the League and the Congress. The fourth object, the unity of the Muslim world, which has been along with other questions connected with the Khilafat has been specially taken up by the Khilafat Committee. There remains only the second object that is the protection of the special interest of the Musalmans. As to this, so long as a much greater and more important object, that is the attainment of Swaraj, still remains unachieved, people should better direct their united efforts against the common enemy than look after their special interests. They will be attended to when time comes for it.

As if these causes were not sufficient in themselves to decrease the Muslim influence in the League, its rules and regulations were unfortunately so framed that while public opinion has developed at a rapid pace most members of the League have not moved an inch from their first position. As a result the League remains nothing more than an old calendar. It

is very necessary to remove the causes of the weakness of the League and to remove them immediately, for, in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to the goal of Swaraj the need of the League will be more and more, because the questions of special Muslim rights will rise again with greater importance when India is free. Our first duty, therefore should be to reduce the fee for the membership of the League and thus increase its members who will choose their representatives on the League every year. The members of the Council of the provincial and the All-India Muslim Leagues should be chosen as is the case with the Congress every year.

### **Plea for a Change.**

But the most pressing necessity of all is a change in the first object of the League to suit the changed Muslim condition. Every one of us knows that the word Swaraj has been definitely left vague and undefined. The creed of the Congress, the object of it, has been that if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are settled on the lines of our demands then Swaraj within the British Empire will be considered sufficient. Otherwise, efforts will be directed towards the attainment of complete independence. But gentlemen, from the Muslim point of view, it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take, and in my opinion it can only be an Indian Republic on the lines of the United States of America. Besides this, the term "peaceful" which defines and restricts the scope of the legitimate means for the attainment of Swaraj in the Congress creed is opposed to the natural and religious aspirations of the Musalmans ; therefore in the creed of the league the words "possible" and "proper" should be substituted for the words "legitimate and peaceful." I will

explain the matter in detail. The Mussalmans should understand it clearly that they will derive a two-fold advantage from the establishment of an Indian Republic. Firstly, the general benefit which they will undoubtedly share along with their Indian brethren as citizens of a common state, secondly, the special advantage which the Mussalmans will derive from it is that with every decline in the prestige and power of the British Empire which to-day is the worst enemy of the Muslim countries the Muslim world will get breathing time and opportunity to improve its conditions.

### **Hindu-Muslim Unity.**

Gentlemen, in spite of the present Hindu-Muslim unity there still exists many serious misunderstandings and suspicion between these two great communities of Hindustan and it is of primary importance that we should grasp the true nature of these misunderstandings. The Hindus have a lurking suspicion that, given an opportunity of Mahomedan invasion of India the Mussalmans will at least help their co-religionists in case they invaded to plunder and devastate Hindustan ; and these misunderstandings are so deeprooted, widespread that so far as my knowledge goes no Indian statesman has escaped it except the late Lokmanya Tilak. On the other hand the Mussalmans suspect that on the achievement of self-government the Hindus will acquire greater political powers and will use their numerical superiority to crush the Mussalmans. Gentlemen, it is quite clear that these misunderstandings can only be won over by compromise, discussion and mutual understanding that the third party should not come between them. The generality of Mussalmans with a few exceptions are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus and are absolutely opposed to an ordinary Reform Scheme as a substitute for

complete independence. The primary reason for this is that in a merely reformed, as contrasted with an independent, Government they will be under a double suspicion. First, a subjection to the Government of India which will be common to Hindus and Mussalmans ; secondly, a subjection to the Hindu majority which they will have to face in every department of the Government. On the other hand, if the danger of the English power is removed the Musalmans will only have the Hindu majority to fear and fortunately this fear is such as will be automatically removed with the establishment of the Indian republic, for while the Mussalmans as a whole are in a minority in India yet nature has provided a compensation ; the Mussalmans are not in a minority in all the provinces. In some provinces such as Kashmere, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam (?) the Mussalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. In the United States of India the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Mussalmans. Similarly, so long as a completely liberated India does not come in the hands of the Hindus and Mussalmans themselves the Hindus will be always suspicious that in case of a foreign invasion the Mussalmans will aid their co-religionist invaders. But, on the establishment of the Indian Republic which will be shared in common, Musslmans will not desire that the power of even a Muslim foreigner should be established over his country. Gentlemen, I have just stated it as a necessary condition of the Hindu-Muslim compromise that the third party, the English, should not be allowed to step in between us. Otherwise all our affairs will fall into disorder.

### **Moplah Incident.**

Its best example is before you in the shape of the Moplah incident. You are probaly aware that Hindu India has an open

and direct complaint against the Moplahs and an indirect complaint against all of us that the Moplahs are plundering and spoiling their innocent Hindu neighbours. But probably you are not aware that the Moplahs justify their action on the ground, that at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours not only do not help them or observe neutrality but aid and assist the English in every possible way. They can no doubt contend that while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their houses, property and belongings and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterise as plunder their commandeering of the money, provision and other necessities for their troops, from the English their supporters. Gentlemen, both are right in their complaint but so far as my investigation goes the cause of this mutual recrimination can be traced to the interference of the third party. It happens thus ; Whenever any English detachment suddenly appears in their locality and kill the Moplah inhabitants of the place rumour somehow spreads in the neighbourhood that the Hindu inhabitants of the place had invited the English army for their protection with the result that after the departure of the English troops Moplahs or their neighbours do not hesitate to retaliate and consider the money and other belongings of the Hindus as lawful spoils of war taken from those who have aided and abetted the enemy. Where no such events have occurred the Moplahs and the Hindus even now live side by side ; the Moplahs do not commit any excesses against the Hindus while the Hindus do not hesitate in helping the Moplahs to the best of their ability.

### **The Two Means To Win Swaraj.**

I have wandered from my purpose. I meant to emphasise that in the first cause dealing with the aims and objects of

the League the word Swaraj should be defined as complete independence in the cause of an Indian Republic. Otherwise there is a danger that in the presence of a third party self-government within the British Empire instead of being beneficial might actually prove injurious. The second amendment necessary is that the methods for the attainment of Swaraj should be amplified. In place of only "peaceful and legitimate means," "possible and proper" ones should be substituted. Thus, on the one hand, opportunity of joining the League will be given to those who do not honestly believe in non-co-operation alone as the sole path of salvation and recognising the possibility of other methods adopt them. Also, on the other hand, the amendment will remove the complaint of those who believe that non-co-operation can under no circumstances remain peaceful to the last and while subscribing to the creed of the Congress and the first clause of the section dealing with the object of the League as a matter of policy and expediency refuse to admit it as a faith for all times and circumstances or to remain non-violent even in intention.

Gentlemen, there are two possible means of replacing one government by another. One, the destruction of the Government by sword and the establishment of another in its place—a method which has been followed in the world thus far. The second alternative is to sever all connection with the present government and to set up a better organised Government parallel to it and improve and develop it till the old order is dissolved and the new takes its place. Friends, to achieve this object we must immediately set up on a separate and permanent foundation our own courts, schools, arts, industries, army, police and a national parliament. Non-violent non-co-operation can only help to start the parallel Government but cannot maintain it. The question now is can such a parallel Govern-

ment be established through non-violent non-co-operation, of course, provided the rival Government does not interfere with its establishment, a condition which is obviously impossible. The rival Government will certainly interfere. We might contend that we will proceed on with our work silently and quietly in spite of Government interference as is being done at present.

### **When Non-violence will be Impossible.**

A stage will however be reached ultimately when action on peaceful lines will absolutely become impossible and then we will be forced to admit that a parallel Govt. can be started but not continue to last through peaceful means. Examples of Governmental repression are before your eyes. First, it attempted through the Karachi trials to prevent the Mussalmans from openly proclaiming the articles of their faith. When the people undaunted by this decision of the Government preached throughout the length and breadth of India that it was unlawful to serve in the army, the Govt. slowly overlooked these activities fearing lest mere repetition of the Karachi resolution might lead to disaffection in the army. And in order to divert the attention of the people from these activities it suddenly but deliberately declared enrolment of ‘volunteers’ as unlawful that it might get an opportunity of striking at the non-co-operators. Like moths that gather to sacrifice their lives round a lighted candle the advocates of Civil Disobedience swarmed to break this declaration of Lord Reading and cheerfully went in their thousands to gaol. This is undoubtedly an example of self-sacrifice and self-effacement which well might move Mahatma Gandhi to ecstasy.

But we detect another truth hidden in this demonstration of happiness and joy. It reveals to our eyes the last stage of

'both the repression of the Govt. and patience of the people. People are no doubt prepared to bear and suffer gladly the hardship of a few days' imprisonment. But on the declaration of Martial Law non-Violent non-co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Mussalmans, at least there will hardly be found a man who can have any but one of the two feelings in his heart. When faced by the barrel of a gun either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch his adversary to hell. The third alternative that of cheerfully yielding up one's life to the enemy and considering it to be one real success, will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and some of his adherents and fellow-thinkers. I, on my part, fear that in general the reply to martial law will what is commonly called Guerrilla Warfare or in the words of the Koran "kill them wherever you find them." The responsibility for all this bloodshed will rest on the shoulders of the Govt.

Consequently, as representatives of the Mussalmans, the members of the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed or free it from the limitation of keeping it either violent or non-violent. For it is not in our power to keep non-co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters non-co-operation can remain peaceful as it is to-day. But if things go further and Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible.

### **Why Muslims go one step further.**

At the stage people would like to ask how it is that while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent non-co-operation as the means for attaining independence the

Mussalmans are anxious to go a step further. The answer is that the liberation of Hindustan is as much a political duty of Mussalmans as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of Khilafat it has become a Mussalman's religious duty also.

In this connection I should like to say just one word. The glories of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the conclusion of the recent Franco-Turkish treaty might credit an idea in some people's minds that the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks is a certainty and the restoration of Thrace to the Turks if not certain is within the bounds of possibility. Consequently they might entertain the hope that the struggle in the Near East is coming to a close. I want to warn all such people that the claims of the Mussalmans of India are founded more on religious than political principles. So long as the Jazirtul Arab (including Palestine and Mesopotamia) are not absolutely freed from Non-Muslim influence and so long as the political and military power of the Khilafat-Ul-Mussalman is not fully restored, the Mussalmans of India cannot suspend their activities and efforts.

### **The Khilafat Demands.**

The Muslim demands as regards the Khilafat are these : (1) that in presence of the promise of Mr. Lloyd George, Thrace and Smyrna along with the city of Smyrna should remain purely under Turkish control so that the political prestige of the Khilafat-Ul-Mussalman which is essential for the Khilafat should suffer no diminution (2) All non-Turkish control should be removed from Constantinople, the shores of Marmora and the Dardanelles in order that the Khilafat at Constantinople may not be under Non-Muslim control which is essential for the Khilafat. (3) All naval and military restric-

tions imposed on the Khilafat should be removed as otherwise he would have no power to enforce the orders of the Khilafat. (4) The Jazirat-Ul-Arab, including Hedjaz, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be free from all Non-Muslim influence and not be under the British mandate as it was the deathbed injunction of the Prophet. It should be noted that in the fourth demand we wish the English to give up their mandate of Mespot and Palestine and remove their influence from the Hedjaz. As to the question whether the Arabs will acknowledge the Sherif of Mecca or the Sultan of Turkey as their Khilafat or whether the Arab Govt. of Hedjaz, Mespot. and Palestine will be independent or under the suzerainty of the Khalifa they will be decided by the Mussalmans. We do not want Non-Muslim advice or assistance.

### **League-Congress Compact.**

In my opinion, gentlemen, the most pressing necessity of Hindustan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact between the Congress and the League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning Swaraj (1) that until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied (2) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves that even when their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied the Mussalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethren for the attainment and reservation of Indian independence.

Such a compact is all the more necessary because there are signs that the enemies of Indian Independence, and, we have to confess with regret that a number of deceitful Indians working with the foreigners are concentrating all their efforts to wreck the Hindu-Moslem Unity and create distrust and

misunderstanding between the communities. On the one hand, the Mussalmans are being enticed by false hopes with regard to Khilafat question. On the other, some showy toys of political concessions are being prepared as a gift for the Hindus even before the stipulated period of ten years. It is intended that in their simplicity the Mussalmans should consider the return of Smyrna etc. as the satisfaction of their Khilafat demands and slacken their efforts for the attainment of Swaraj, while the Hindus should be misled into believing a further instalment of reforms as the Swaraj itself or at least its precursor and begin to consider the Khilafat as an irrelevant question.

There can be only one solution for all these problems. Hindus and Mussalmans after mutual consultation should have Indian Independence declared by Mahatma Gandhi, that in future neither the English might have an opportunity of deceiving nor India of being deceived. After the declaration of Independence the Congress and the League will have only one object left, that is, the preservation of Swaraj. 1922 is the best date for the purpose, because we would thus have fulfilled the promise that we made to attain Swaraj within this year and the people of India will have achieved success in the eyes of God and man. ( Cheers )

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### *The Second day's Proceeding.*

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#### **Rejected Resolution Discussed.**

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The Moslem League met at 9 P. M on 30th Dec. 1921. After it had passed some non-contentious Resolutions the Presi-

dent Hasrat Mohani made an announcement amidst applause that he proposed that the decision of the Subjects Committee rejecting his resolution regarding the attainment of independence and destruction of British Imperialism would be held as final and representing the opinion of the majority in the League but that in view of the great importance of the subject he would allow a discussion on that resolution without taking any vote.

Mr. Azad Sobhani who had moved the resolution in the Subjects Committee, also moved it in the League. He said he believed in Hindu-Moslem Unity as absolutely essential, in non-violent non-co-operation as the only way to fight their battle and Mr. Gandhi was fully deserving the dictatorship which had been invested on him by the Congress but that he also believed that British Imperialism was the greatest danger to India and the Moslem world and must be destroyed by placing before them an ideal of independence.

Mr. Azad Sobhani was followed by several speakers who supported him, in the same vein.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali announced that the reason for the ruling of the President was that the League did not want to take a step which the Congress had not taken. He warned them against saying big things without understanding them and reminded the audience that India was at present ready for maintaining liberty even if it was attained.

He asked, who would for instance be their Commander-in-Chief if the British left to-morrow. (A voice, "Enver Pasha.")

The speaker emphatically declared that he would not tolerate any foreigner. He wanted an Indian Commander-in-Chief.

Among the other resolutions passed by the League was

one about the Moplahs which, condemned the Government's excesses and the reported conversion by Moplahs.

'The President then closed the Session after a short speech.

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# THE ALL INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE.

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## Second Session.

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*Ahmedabad, 29th December, 1921.*

The Second Session of the All India Students' Conference met at Ahmedabad on the 29th of December 1921, under the Presidency of Srimati Sarojini Naidu.

The audience numbered about three thousand Representative students of all the Provinces were present.

### The Presidential Address.

The following is the full text of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Presidential address at the All-India Students' Conference at Ahmedabad:-

"My young comrades, if some fairy god-mother of Destiny were to say to me " Yet in time now or in the future what is the one Supreme wish of your heart, what is the one Supreme honour you covet, what would be the crowning glory of all your achievement—choose." Do you know what I would choose without hesitation, without doubt in my mind ? For my opportunity I would choose to mould the mind of the young generation. For the supremest honour of my life, I should ask for the love of the young generation. For the crowning glory and the achievement of my life I should like it written on my epitaph—" She loved the young generation ;

she trusted the young generation ; she worked with the young generation ; she won freedom side by side with the young generation of Indians for India." That is the secret desire of my heart. So you can understand that if I stand before you to-day your chosen President, it seems to me as if the fairy god-mother were already, without my asking it, for almost without my knowing it, conferring upon me the boon of boons. Ever since I could speak articulately not the language as one finds in the dictionaries of the world, but the language of the heart of youth in which the imagination of youth speaks, no matter in what tongue and in what country, my one thought has been always for the freedom of India ; and my earliest services in that direction were the companionship of students always. My first entry into public life was as a speaker in the colleges as the chosen guest of the students of the cities of India. To speak from larger platforms to larger audiences came much later but it never brought to me the thrill that I still remember of those little audiences in attentively listening to me with avid faces and those burning eyes looking into future and demandig an answer from the Time Spirit. To-day I stand amongst you once more representatives of the Spirit of India. You have come from North and South, East and West and the central heart of India,—you who represent many races to-day, many creeds to-day, many sects to-day, all times of civilization, all kinds of traditions, all kinds of conflicts, and yet united by the one burning desire to serve your country, to sever her from bondage, to enthrone her among the state,—you have come together at the call of the nation,—you who have made a response to the voice that have trumpeted forth saying "Stand forth, you, young generation, and brake the shackles of your mother." What is the message that I can deliver to you ? What is the strength that can be mine that

will guide you aright to day on the difficult pilgrimage towards freedom ? Those of you who were here the other day must be remembering with a thrill the words that I read from Desbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das's message in which he speaks of the students. There he says in words that are written in fire:— “Let me not forget the students. They are the inspiration of the movement. They are the torch-bearers on the path to freedom. They are the pilgrims on the road to liberty. If theirs has been the sacrifice, then victory is their due” This is the message which the chosen President of the National Congress wrote for the students in whom he has faith, in whom his generation has faith. And I representing his generation, deliver to you the message of his generation and mine, asking that you will fulfil the pledges that we have made to the world, because you, and you alone are not only the heroes of all our greatness but the fulfillers, the completers of all our imperfections, all our shortcomings, all our weaknesses. You are to wipe out the stains upon our generation. You are to blot out with your prayers, with your sacrifices all the stains, the scourges, the follies, the backslidings, the sins of our generation. This is the message that I bring you to-day.

You want to know what India demands of you. Turn over the pages of history of the nations that have found freedom, and you will find in page after page of glory not the record only of battles fought and won on the open fields and under the stars ; no, the most inspiring pages are not there. But the inspiring pages come where name after name of youngmen in their serried ranks fill up the gaps as the soldiers fall, the young serried ranks that surge into their trenches and with the cry of victory win the liberties of nations. You are in that position to-day. Greece in her glorious days could show no more radiant page of achievement. Rome with all her Imperial

purple has not a passage more glowing than you can show to-day to the world. Nay, the history of your country, the history of such supreme sacrifice, such glorious achievement can show no page more lovely with sacrifice, more burning with the fire of prophetic zeal than you to-day in whose hands the writing and the illuminating of the history of Empire lies. The call to students came last year, but the call came with a rather hesitating voice because still the nation was not aware of its own peril. Nor was it so imminently and urgently aware of its need, its power, its great unity, its strength to sacrifice, its power to endure, its capacity to hurl back to an imperious bureaucracy the challenge of an invincible hope and an invincible resolve. To-day the call is not of an answering voice, the call is rising not from the mountain tops, but from the secret valleys of your own hearts and souls. If the voice of Mahatma Gandhi speaks to you, he is but the flute-call of your own hearts. He is not the Shree Krishna. He is the flute of Shree Krishna that is within your own hearts, and souls. So, my young comrades, your duty to-day is clear before you. Sacrifice ! Sacrifice !! Sacrifice !!!

One year ago I did not believe in the wisdom of young men turning their backs upon their colleges, shutting the pages of their text-books, denying to themselves the inviolable right and privilege of knowledge and culture. But to-day after the agony of nearly one year's experience of the bitter need of India, the bitter perils of India, I stand up to say, though it hurts me still so to feel, that the young generation must turn its back upon the colleges, must deny to itself its own inalienable heritage of the right to learn, the right to know, the right that enriches the mind and the spirit with the garnered treasures of ages. I none the less say

that freedom is worthy of even so valuable a sacrifice. Why shall men barter all their wealth to buy one pearl of great price ? Shall men sell their lands and kingdoms to satisfy one passionate whim of theirs, and yet the youth of the nation not offer itself up in a glared and flaming sacrifice for the sake of the freedom of India ? In 1914, when the great battle-cloud broke over Europe, when the sky of August was stained blood-red with the menace of war, when the boom of the thundering cannon roared in the great cities of Europe, did I not see young man after man in their hundreds of thousands pouring out of their colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, from the London colleges and the Welsh colleges and the Scottish colleges and the Manchester colleges and marching to the music of their own brave youth to victory or to doom ? Is to-day so different from that day that needed the sacrifice of the youth of Europe for the sake of European peace ? Is not our plight more tragic. Is not our need more terrible ? Is not our case more vitally urgent ? Is not our peril the peril not merely of lands that may be lost, of lives that may be lost, but of the nation's soul, the nation's honour, the nations right to live among the living nations of the world. Therefore, I ask you my young friends, you who are to-day the representatives of hundreds and thousands of young men and women all over India, pour forth in your uncounted numbers pour forth to battle, not to the battle of those that wade across seas of blood towards victory, but the battle of those who wade only across the blood of their own hearts—not the blood of their enemies' hearts. The difference between our warfare and the warfare of Europe, the warfare of the West, the accepted warfare of the world, is this, that whilst nations of another land win their victory slaying their enemies, we win our victory by slaying only our sins. It

is the great battle of self-purification. It is the great battle of self-sacrifice. It is the great battle of self-devotion. If in the years to come when the Swaraj flag flies over our national assemblies, in the summing up of the achievement of the great battle for liberty we count up the gains and the losses and among the losses, irreparable, incalculable though they may be, we find that the youth of India has perforce to remain ignorant, bereft of the knowledge, that wide culture, that noble learning that is the inheritance of the young generations of the world, shall we have time to bemoan that ignorance? Shall we have time to lament that loss? Or shall we not say 'So against this loss—this loss irreparable, incalculable though it is the one thing which is worth while having the one thing for which the generations have not sacrificed their all for nothing. There is on the one hand a few years of sacrifice, on the other the imperishable legacy of freedom to a land set free for ever by the sacrifice of the young generations.'

### **The Meaning of the 'Pledge.'**

I want you all to realize that to-day you are the recruits in the great army of freedom. You are the new soldiers in the army of peace. I want you to understand the implications of the remark. I want you to realize in all its manifold bearing, in all the terrible responsibilities the meaning of the word. What does it mean to be a volunteer. What does it mean to be a non-co-operating student? What does it mean to-day to sign that pledge which you have proclaimed yesterday in tones solemn and moving from the lips of the apostle of freedom? It means this, my young friends—not merely that you will learn to parade and drill and fall into lines and salute your superiors and have ranks in the army and march

singing national songs—these are the details, the outer trappings, the true symbols that count for nothing—but to be a soldier in the army that Mahatma Gandhi leads is to be reborn pure and flawless in the flame of sacrifice. It means the cleansing out of every secret sin from the secret recesses of your hearts. It means the purging of every fibre of yours from every evil thought, passion and desire that still might be lurking unsuspected in the crevices of your beings. It means that you pledge yourselves not only to the world that can see the outer things and judge you, but it means that you pledge yourselves to your Self, to the Being seated in the midst of you that you will abstain in thought and word, desire and deed from every low evil, vicious, cancerous, leprous sin. That is what I want to impress upon you. That is what I want you to realize. It means the discipline of perfection, the discipline of the mind, the heart, the senses, the desire ; not merely the obeying of the captain's orders but the obeying of the orders of that captain that is in every man's heart and is called Conscience by many tongues. It means that you will learn so to conquer yourself, your selfish desires, your selfish needs, your selfish pride that you will endure, without retaliation, without re-sentiment, all the indignity, humiliation, suffering, losses, penalties—if necessary, flogging and torturing and death—for the sake of the cause to which you are pledged to-day.

That is really the message I have for you. If you have understood what the pledge stands for, if you have understood why the hand-spun and hand-made outer symbols that is your garment, is the true symbol of your inward regeneration, if you have understood that you cannot ask for freedom for yourself, if within one single heart amongst you there still remains that shrinking from your neighbour because

he is not born like yourselves within the mantle of the four-fold caste—if you have understood all these things, you have understood the meaning and the purpose of Swaraj. But if you have still within you the feeling that there are barriers between Hindu and Hindu within his own caste, between Hindu and Musalman, between Musalman and Parsee, between Parsee and Christian, if you will still divide yourselves in terms of sects and provinces and castes and divisions, there is no Swaraj for us ; there is no Swaraj for the young generation. Therefore my purpose to-day is to make clear to you the meaning of that great pledge. But the young generation does not need my interpretation of the Gospel of Freedom. I want you, therefore, I know you will, therefore, join in your hundreds and thousands, and become yourselves the young apostles of your own deliverance. There should be no peril that is too great for you to face, no difficulty so difficult for you to master, no destiny too exalted for you to achieve.

### Last Appeal.

But my young friends, my young comrades, Oh pilgrims on the road to freedom, as said the other pilgrim who is in the half-way house to freedom in the prisons of Bengal, I charge you, "Remember the sacred duty that will bow there young shoulders, the terrible burden that will bow those young heads. But though your backs be broken and your heads be bowed, I charge you, let your hearts be never bowed or burdened. For, no matter how heavy the burden, let your own courage be the torch in your hand ; no matter how deep the path, let your own hope be the pilgrim's staff in your hand ; no matter how far the goal, let your young strength give you wings to reach the

goal. When the goal is reached and you stand high up on the peaks and look back across the difficult way you have come, comrades, remember ; let there be nothing that you see on the road you left behind save your own follies and weaknesses and sins and nothing of value, nothing of abiding worth or beauty ; take it all with you for the enriching of the temple, that is the temple of liberty. March with me to the temple of liberty. I carry the standard in my hands. Comrades, march with me till we reach the goal." (Prolonged cheers).

### **Resolutions.**

After Mrs. Naidu's address the Students' Conference adjourned for a couple of hours during which the Subjects Committee met and carried several resolutions. When the Conference reassembled those present included Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shraddhanand and Dr. Ansari. Resolutions were passed :—(1) Hoping that in obedience to the mandate of the Congress the students of and above the age of 18 would suspend their educational activities and enrol as volunteers ; (2) protesting against the age limit of 16 set by the Congress for those who wanted to be volunteers and urging that all College students irrespective of the age limit be allowed to become volunteers, (this resolution was moved and supported by those college students who were under age of 18); (3) asking all students to learn handspinning and hand-weaving and to wear only Khadi-made cloth; (4) congratulating Lala Lajpat Rai, the first President of their conference and their fellow students for going to jail in spirit of self-sacrifice.—(5) changing the name of the conference from the All-India College Students to the Hind Vidyarthi Mahashabha and amending the constitution so as to create a Working Com-

mittee of 21 members who would act as the executive of the big committee of the conference. The next Resolution of the Students Conference wanted the attainment of complete independence as their creed. After a great deal of heated discussion the resolution was lost by a majority of eleven only.

### **Mrs. Naidu's Second Speech.**

After votes of thanks were given to the delegates, volunteers, the Reception Committee and the President for making the Conference a success, Mrs. Naidu made another speech. She said: "My young comrades, you are all very tired at the end of a long day's work, but I do not think that any of us here will grudge the hours we have spent together on clearing our own minds as to our own thoughts, intentions and aspirations. The outstanding feelings in my mind to-day, as I spend the hours in contact with the young minds that represent India, is that I am proud to be alive to see this material moulded into heroes for the salvation of India. I have spent most of my life amongst students, but never before have I felt so thrilled to realise that the young generation has the independence to think for itself unrightened by even the presence of Mahatma Gandhi (Cheers). That is really the symbol for which I have been looking. We are not going to get freedom by the worship of personalities, however great or divine. It is only when they represent the principles for which we live and for which we would die that they can command our worship or our admirations or our following. If to-day the country holds Mahatma Gandhi as semi-divine if not divine, it is not for any other reason than this that he embodies within that frail yet indomitable

body an invincible soul of liberty. That is why we are content to follow him to-day, because in following him we are following the spirit of liberty. There might be some little doubt left in the minds of some of the delegates to-day about the ultimate destiny of India. It is true that yesterday in the Congress, Hasrat Mohani, the great poet, brought a resolution which was defeated by Mahatma Gandhi, the great Saint. Both were right. Neither was wrong,—Hasrat Mohani asking for the independence of India, Mahatma Gandhi saying 'wait a little and take your laggard friends with you before you ask for that ultimate independence.' Both are animated by the same desire, the same zeal. Both behold the same vision. Let no man in this Conference feel that because my young friends from Aligarh could not carry their point to-day, it is not the desire of young India to have that ultimate liberty which alone is worth having. I would not let the young generation do such bitter injustice to itself. But I know that those who did not to-day stand for that resolution were animated only by the same spirit that made Mahatma Gandhi, in his infinite compassion for the weak, pause and say: "Let us take in the laggard and the lame with us." What is freedom unless it means freedom, and whether the Congress accepted it as a creed or not, it is the invincible inevitable destiny of every nation to be free in that largest and deepest sense of the word. But freedom does not mean isolation from other nations. It means equal comradeship with the free nations of the world, and that is a great ideal for which we must all work. In conclusion she hoped that next year they would meet under free India (applause).

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## **THE LIBERAL POLICY.**

### **Dominion Status To Be Striven For.**

*Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer's Presidential Address.*

The following are extracts from the Presidential speech delivered by Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer of Madras at the National Liberal Federation held at Allahabad on the 29th December, 1921.

It is perhaps a truism to say that the country is now passing through a crisis. Events are moving with bewildering rapidity. The general tension is such as to necessitate a close examination of the position that one has to take up whatever the school of thought may be to which one belongs. In these circumstances, I need make no apology if, in addressing you, I mainly direct my attention to the present situation and to the question whether the party that is opposed to us has fulfilled or is likely to fulfil the legitimate expectations and requirements of the people and the country.

We are all aware of the difficulties to which the members of the party under the distinguished leadership of Mahatma Gandhi are now subject. It is therefore perhaps an ungracious task to examine the principles and the programme of that party. But the highest interest of the country imperatively demands that the present situation should be closely examined with a view to see how far it would be met and improved by further persistence in the policy with which Mr. Gandhi has identified himself. The distinctive features of that movement are the attainment of Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat

and the Punjab wrongs by the paralysis of the Government by means of Non-violent Non-Cooperation.

### **Mr. Gandhi's Influence.**

Mr. Iyer after dealing with the Non-Cooperation movement in its different aspects and trying to show its impracticability, said :—

In the recent history of our country no single individual had a greater control over any movement than Mr. Gandhi over the Non-Co-operation movement. He is virtually the dictator of the movement. I use the expression in no offensive sense, I have thus passed in rapid review the changes in the Non-Co-operation programme not that I wish to suggest that changes in a programme are undesirable by themselves or justify its rejection. My point rather is that the distinguished author of the movement has been himself unable to definitely settle the programme ; and in order to make it acceptable to the people in general, and I lay special emphasis on this aspect, he had to incorporate into it items which could not be said to be distinctive of the Non-Co-operation movement and which have public sympathy and support independently of that movement such as, for instance, the problem of untouchability, the drink evil and the Swadeshi movement. It is claimed for the movement that it has a spiritual side and tends to the development of the soul force. It is a problem, however, whether Non-Co-operation is the only or the best means of bringing about the development of soul force such as the Mahatma wishes to see effected.

### **Mr. Gandhi's Sad Experience.**

Now the chief merit that is claimed for the movement is that the objects in view are to be attained by absolute non-

violence and this contention deserves close examination. We can admit that the movement of Passive Resistance attained remarkable success and led to striking results in South Africa, but it has to be noted that the conditions there were very different from those obtaining here. Given a personality like Mahatma Gandhi and a comparatively small and compact body of persons such as were the Indian settlers in South Africa with sufficient opportunities for the Mahatma to come into frequent and intimate contact with the persons asked to adopt Passive Resistance, it is obvious that the movement is deprived of its dangers. But when the principle is asked to be adopted by over 300 millions belonging to different strata of society and of different grades of culture and refinement and living in a vast area and subject to varying influences, and beyond the possibility of the personal attention of the Mahatma and his devoted followers the conditions presented are not such as to inspire confidence that similar results would ensue. As a matter of fact, when the movement was put to the test on anything like a large scale, it has been found again and again to belie the expectations of the author and the promoters of the movement.

### **What we Should Strive For.**

Proceeding he said :--I claim that, as a question of practical politics, full Dominion status is what we should strive for. That was what was expressly postulated by the Congress creed before the Nagpur Congress altered it. I shall not however lay any great stress on that fact as it may be said that, however matters might have stood under the old-world conditions, new forces are now asserting themselves justifying or even necessitating a new objective. Full Dominion status provides for the responsibility of the legislature to the people and of the Cabinet

to the legislature. It postulates the membership of the British Commonwealth of nations as an equal partner. The prerogative of the king remains untouched. He is the symbol of the Empire. No doubt in theory the status of a dominion is of the subject character but actual practice has outgrown the theory. The resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1917 is suggestive in this connection. After pointing out that the adjustment of the constitutional relations of the Empire is too important to be dealt with during the war, the resolution goes on to state ; "They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action founded on consultation as the several Governments may determine".

Speaking on this resolution, General Smuts said ; "The status of the Dominions as equal Nations of the Empire will have to be recognised to a very large extent. The Governments of the Dominions as equal Governments of the king in the British Commonwealth will have to be considered far more fully than that is done to-day, at any rate in the theory of the Constitution if not in practice. That is the most important principle laid down in the second part of this Resolution, that there should be a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations'. And to strengthen the point the

resolution goes on to affirm that the existing powers of self-government should no be interfered with. Of course there is a good deal of feeling or natural and justifiable jealousy in the Dominions as to the rights which they have acquired and which they do not like to be tampered with, and, naturally I think it is very wise to add this to the Resolution, that their existing powers of self-government should not be tampered with."

It will also be remembered that General Smuts objected to South Africa taking part in the Washington Conference, unless she went, as he said, 'on her own legs' and not merely on the strength of the invitation to the British Government ; and he points out in a recent speech how this protest has been taken up by the British Government with the result that the delegates from the Dominions. and India has her own delegate, attend the Conference not as British Empire Delegates but as representatives of their Dominions.

### **Significance Of The Dominion Status.**

Perhaps no better light can be thrown on the full significance of the Dominion Status than what is provided by the recent negotiations of the British Government with Ireland. As you are aware, the agreement in the nature of a treaty made by the Prime Minister and his co-adjudors as representing the British Government with the Irish Plenipotentiaries provides that Ireland shall have the constitutional status of a Dominion and Mr. Lloyd. George on expounding the agreement before the House of Commons emphasised the difficulty and danger of defining the Dominion status and crystallising its import. As pointed out that if any attempt were made to encroach upon the rights of Ireland which by the agreement was to have the same status as the Dominions, the Dominions

would feel that their own position was thereby jeopardised and in this lay the guarantee for the security and full freedom of Ireland. Thus Dominion Status allows of as complete independence and Self development as is compatible with non-secession from the Empire.

It may, therefore, be claimed that the attainment of full Dominion status will allow of our full self expansion, self-realisation and self assertion as a nation. I need not dwell on the need or wisdom of maintaining the British connection, if, by so doing, we are not in any way retarding the national growth and development. It may be also said that even the most ardent advocates of an Indian Republic in the present circumstances of the country do not insist on it as an end in itself but want it as they feel hopeless that otherwise the wrongs they wish to see remedied will not be set right by the Empire.

### **India And The League Of Nations.**

India too is coming into her own in the councils of the Empire. She has become a member of the League of Nations. In the Assembly of the League she has the same vote as the British Empire and she can give an independent vote to be exercised in her interests and by her choice. In the last Imperial Conference held in London, her part was on an equal footing with the self-governing Dominions. On questions of Imperial policy requiring common understanding and united action her voice was given the same weight and consideration as the other parts of the Empire and the memorable resolution was secured—

“The Conference while reaffirming the Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction

on immigration from any of the other communities recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the right of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

It was to the lasting discredit of South Africa that her representatives would not join in this resolution, but it serves to emphasise the view that the interests of India will receive due consideration at the hands of the self-governing Dominions as a whole and as she gains in status and attains a footing of equality with the other Dominions she will be able to completely hold her own. India is also represented at the Washington Conference. It is true that her representative does not stand in the same relation to her that the representatives from the other Dominions did and that it is not by the vote of the people that he was sent as her representative. But that defect does not take away from but only accentuates the full import of the dominion status. With His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sreenivasa Sastri has pressed the case for India with tact and firmness whenever he had the opportunity to do so. He has enhanced the reputation of India amongst the nations of the world and he is entitled to the gratitude of the country.

### **Councils and Growth of Conventions.**

At this stage I do not propose discussing the measure of responsible government that the country has had under the reformed councils. It is pertinent, however, to draw attention to the fact that by the growth of conventions a large measure

of responsibility could be secured. Conventions are in consonance with the genius and traditions of the British Constitutions, they allow full advantage being taken of the experience gatherd from the actual working of institutions. They admit of the easy rectifying of any erors that may have been committed and they do not need the elaborate procedure necessary for having statutory alterations. Already, as you are aware, they are beginning to be established in our reformed legislature. The refusal of the Secretary of State for India to interfere with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly on Lord Lytton's Indian Students' Committee is a noteworthy case as bearing on this question of conventions.

### **Real Fascination of Mr. Gandhi's Movement.**

I shall not be justified in merely referring to the weaknesses of the Non-co-operation movement. There can be no doubt that the movement has great fascination for the masses and even the classes. The movement has come to stay. The appeal to soul force that has been made, the high moral pedestal that has been held out, the confidence, I had almost said the cocksureness, with which the goal is promised to be reached, the lightning rapidity with which, it is said, Swaraj is to be attained. the great personality of Mahatma Gandhi, his saintly life. his transparent selflessness and the ready and unquestioning submission that he is able to command at the hands of most, if not all, of his followers, all had no doubt their material share in the spread of the movement and contributed largely to deepen its hold on the popular imagination. But when all is said that can be said, it must be admitted that the enthusiasm for it now so much in evidence is not altogether fictitious and it will be found to possess residuum undoubtedly genuine which wil not disappear with the mere march

of time or change of leadership. It behoves us therefore to refer to the causes that led to the movement.

### **The Khilafat.**

As already stated, the Khilafat question ushered in the movement. You are familiar with the history of the question. It is evident that our Mussalman brethren have great cause for dissatisfaction with the manner in which the British Government have dealt with it. The Government of India are satisfied that the Indian Mussalmans have a just grievance. His Highness the Aga Khan and the Right Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali, to mention only two honoured names, are at once with the rest of the Muslim opinion. Unprejudiced Europeans who possess intimate knowledge of Muhammadan problems and history and who command the detachment necessary for forming correct judgments like Sir Theodore Morrison, support it. Anglo-Indian opinion too is in its favour and the Hindu section of the population of all shades of opinion have consistently supported it. There is no difference amongst the Mussalmans themselves. The Shias and the Sunnis are in agreement. It is not the body known as the Khilafatist alone that feels the wrong. Recently there was a deputation of the Muslim community that waited on H. E. the Viceroy. It was not composed of political agitators. I will quote one sentence in the address. They say: "We deem it our paramount duty that the mere knowledge of such representation (the representations to the British Government by the Government of India of the Musselman feeling) is not and cannot be a source of comfort to the Indian Mussalmans in their religious sorrows." It shows that the iron has entered into the

soul of even those whose loyalty is unquestionable. The French Government has arrived at a settlement with the Angora Government which appears to be generally acceptable to the Muhammadan world. There is a strong and widespread impression in the country and appearances justify it that the chief obstacle to a settlement of this question, satisfactory to the Indian Mussalmans, is the British Government. It will not do for the Government of India to merely say that they have done their best by making necessary representations to the British Cabinet. The Government of India is an organic unity with the British Government. The fact that they recognise the justice of Musselman opinion ought to be a reason for enhancing their responsibility in seeing that the Musselman claims are vindicated. It is difficult to resist the impression that the British Cabinet or at any rate Mr. Lloyd George and those who support him are under the idea that with sufficient pressure brought to bear on the Indian Mussalmans their agitation for the redress of the Khilafat wrong will wane and finally disappear. If that be so they are undoubtedly in error. The sore has already been allowed to fester long and any further delay in healing it will lead to most serious consequences.

In his reply to the deputation that recently waited on him to request him to call for a conference to consider the present situation, His Excellency the Viceroy said that he and Lord Chelmsford had done everything possible on this matter and asked where they had failed. He knows best how to bring pressure on British Cabinet. He is certainly entitled to their support in handling the present situation.

### The Punjab Wrongs.

The next wrong that led to the movement is the Punjab tragedy. Sir William Vincent has called it an unhappy episode in the history of British India. An indelible stain has been left on the fair fame of Britain, and it will take years if not decades before the memory of that tragedy is wiped out from the Indian mind. I share the view that the punishment inflicted on the delinquents was not adequate. The developments would have been altogether different and the situation would have been considerably eased if at the initial stages the Government had the statesmanship to acknowledge the wrong that has been committed in the same way as the representatives of the people on their part regretted the mob excesses that led to the Government reprisals. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has appealed to the people of India to forget and forgive and the Legislative Assembly has already adopted a resolution after a full discussion of the question. It is time that we cease to cherish and harp on the grievance. Now that the enormity of the wrong done has been admitted and grief has been expressed therefore in unqualified terms, we would do well to look forward and not backward. With the lapse of time the difficulty of punishing the offenders responsible for the tragedy is increased. It is still possible of course, as indeed has been promised, that the compensation payable to the Indians who suffered should be calculated on a liberal basis. It is also possible for the cases being reconsidered of those who were the recipients of special marks of Government appreciation and favour with a view to decide in the light of the full facts now available how far such re-

cognition was deserved. In the final determination of the above matters consideration of prestige ought not to be allowed to interfere.

### **Podanur Tragedy.**

Our care must be to see that it is made impossible that such occurrences should occur. We may now feel certain that this object has been secured. In this connection reference is made to the Podanur tragedy. A serious blunder has been committed, almost criminal in the negligence and thoughtlessness that it reveals. Those responsible for the blunder deserve severe punishment and it is expected they will get it. The Committee appointed to report on the matter has not yet submitted its report and it will be premature to further enlarge on the subject. Thanks to local causes, the angle of vision, said to have changed in several other parts of India and particularly in the Government of India, has not perceptibly changed in my province, the beraureracy has not been visibly weakened in power nor has prestige lost its grip on the administration. But a true regard for facts will not in any way justify the placing of the Podanur tragedy on a par with the Punjab tragedy or the assumption that it reveals the same mentality on the part of the administrators as the Punjab tragedy did.

### **Liberal Party and Reform Scheme.**

As you are aware, the support by the Liberal Party of the Reform Scheme under the new Government of India Act was not due to their acceptance of the view that Indians were unfit for responsible Government in their present condition. They recognised the measure of responsible Government that the Scheme contained and were prepared that

conscientious efforts should be made to work it for all its was worth so as to dispel the fears of those that were honestly inclined to doubt our fitness for self-Government. Co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever needed has been our moto.

### **The Work of the Reformed Legislatures.**

The opinion is general that the reformed legislatures have satisfactorily justified the expectations formed of them. Most of the Provincial Governments, if not all, associate the Ministers with the Executive Councillors in their deliberations on the Reserved subjects so that the unitary system is in practical operation on a large scale. No less an authority than the President of the Legislative Assembly has viewed most favourably the work of the Legislative Assembly. The case of the Legislative Assembly is specially important as it has to deal with matters affecting All-India Administration and the Central Government does not possess even the modicum of constitutionally responsible element that the Provincial Goverments possess. According to Mr. Whyte, the Assembly has been an almost unqualified success and the body has shown a corporate sense of responsibility which is its most reassuring feature. According to him the problem presented by the conjunction of an irremovable executive with a large constitutionally irresponsible majority would become ripe for treatment long before the ten years prescribed by the Government of India for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the system of Government of India are over. You know the resolution ultimately adopted by the Legislative Assembly on this question. I would only refer to a few points. The willingness of the Liberal Party to work the reformed Councils

should not be taken to mean they were satisfied with the measure of responsible Government that was granted nor that they do not desire advance.

The experience of the working of the Provincial and Central Legislatures shows that full powers if entrusted to them will only heighten their sense of responsibility except in cases where local and temporary causes may serve as deflecting factors. Now that Dominion status is recognised as the goal, there is no reason why approximation to it should be delayed when once the capacity of the people is proved equal to it. Mr. Montagu seems to have pointed out that the working of the electorate is an important consideration. No doubt it is. There can be no question however that the political consciousness of the people as a whole has been deeply awakened and that an intelligent and discriminating interest is taken by the masses on the doings of the Government and the working of popular institutions. India to-day is not the India of even a decade ago. Where the masses are likely to go wrong is when some great injustice is done and the Government for reasons of its own is unwilling to acknowledge and repair the wrong. I shall not hazard any remarks of my own as to the directions in which alteration should be made which doubtless will receive your full consideration. Full financial control should be secured to the popular representatives in the Provincial and Central Legislatures, and the question has to be seriously considered whether as regards the Central Government it is necessary to go through the process that the provinces are now passing through dyarchy with a view to full responsible government, especially as it will take time to procure the alteration of the statute by the British Parliament.

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### **Temperance Movement Legitimate.**

The temperance movement is taking the form of total abstinence. It is a great mistake however to make it a political movement. The efforts of the Non-co-operators in this direction have met with a large measure of success. It is because the movement itself is popular. Prohibition is bound to come whether with or without local option as a half way resting house. The excise revenue can not be long counted upon. The financial statement for 1921-22 shows that for the whole of the country it is close upon 20 crores. In my province according to the latest figures an estimated revenue of 556 lakhs has already shrunk by about 80 lakhs and I have no doubt that the other provinces are undergoing similar experiences. The Indian Exchequer has lost nearly six crores of rupees a year on account of the anxiety of the Government to reclaim the Chinese from the opium habit, though the object appears to be doubtful of attainment. With this example before them it is not strange that the Indian people should insist that, far from meeting with disapproval, any effort of theirs should have the practical sympathy of the Government.

The loss of revenue is no doubt inevitable and it has to be met and this question requires very serious consideration where even after retrenchment in expenditure a deficit remains, by relying on the general prosperity of the people who will be benefited by prohibition or decrease in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. There is nothing in the movement taken to put down drink that is specially the function of the No-co-operator. Picketting is no doubt practised. It is remarkable, I am speaking of such experience as I have in my own province, that it is attended with so little -

violence, it is a testimony to the preparedness of the people for the movement. There is no doubt that on account of the intimate connection of picketting with the diminution of the excise revenue, those who practise it are objects of persecution by the officers of the Government, and the unpopularity of the administration is of course the consequence. The best course to be adopted is not to identify the movement with the Non-co-operator and that is best effected by not attaching any special importance to the efforts of the Non-co-operator when devoted against drink.

### **Use of Section 108 and 144 Unjustified.**

The powers under section 108 and section 144 of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code have been freely availed of for the purpose of crippling the activities of the Non-co-operators. The use of the provisions of section 144 for political purposes is a new policy. From such experience as I possess in my province, it may be stated that such use is generally uncalled for. In by far the largest number of cases, the persons to whom the order is directed either to abstain from taking part in a meeting or to cease from picketing or to show cause why he should not find security for keeping the peace, disobey it with the result that the consequential provisions are applied. In most of such cases no defence is entered and the accused prefer the prison to the payment of fine where fine is imposed. There is, I fear, a far too great readiness on the part of the executive officers to take advantage of these provisions of law, a readiness which is encouraged by the determined attitude of those to whom they are sought to be applied not to make a defence. I venture to think that, in many of these cases if the prosecution witnesses were duly cross-examined and the accused

entered upon their defence or availed themselves of the other facilities open to them under the law, the results of the trials would have been different. But, it suits the non-co-operators to act as they are doing, in fact it is the very thing that they want. Though I admit that it is very difficult for the executive officers and particularly the police to keep a cool head, in these trying circumstances the highest interests of the country and the Government demand that great discrimination should be exercised in the issue of orders under sections 108 and 114 of Criminal Procedure Code in the launching of proceedings, so as to reduce them to a minimum.

Our duty in these circumstances is to help the Government in all their legitimate efforts to uphold peace and order and press upon them the need for great tact and discrimination in the exercise of their ordinary power under the law. When the Non-co-operator finds that he does not excite attention, the movement will undoubtedly receive a set back.

I may point out that also no one need be an object of special attention especially on the part of police officers simply because he preaches or helps the use of spinning wheel or wears what is called the Gandhi or Swaraj cap or uses Khadder. The spinning wheel as such has no political complexion about it and the Government would easily divorce it from politics by decreasing to have for it the excessive dread that it has at present.

### **Thing to be Done.**

Mr. Iyer next dwelling on hartal and Prince's visit and deplored the attitude of non-co-operators in boycotting the functions connected with the reception of the prince said.—The question arises what has now to be done? I venture to think that this latest move on the part of Mr. Gandhi will go

a large way towards alienating the sympathies of those not already committed to Non-co-operation, and the duty will be more largely recognised and acted upon, on the part of the people to uphold peace and order. It may be that the duties of the Government in the situation with which they are faced are difficult to discharge ; but if a conflagration is to be avoided, it behoves them to observe all the restraint that is possible consistently with the maintenance of order. Care has to be taken that such measures as are enforced are not the outcome of panic and do not degenerate to terrorism or revenge. It has to be recognised that Mr. Gandhi and his Lieutenants are perfectly sincere in their professions of non-violence. Their endeavours have met with a considerable amount of success. The force cannot be ignored of the challenge that Mr. Gandhi makes, " why have no attempts been made to prove a single case of intimidation," referring to the event in Calcutta during the last ten days. The course taken by the Government has this element of weakness in it that it offers a premium to persons anxious to be in the lime-light. When some are arrested, more come in. The gaol is considered a place of freedom. No heroic measure can be suggested on either side. The arrest of men of great respectability and of unimpeachable character like Lala Lajput Rai, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Babu Bhagawan Das cannot be contemplated without feelings of the very deepest regret. The extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to several parts of the country has been protested against. The facts so far known do not negative the suggestion that reliance could have been placed on the ordinary law of the land and that the executive need not have called to its aid the extraordinary powers it possesses under the special laws. Speaking of my own province, His Excellency Lord

Willingdon acknowledged that the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Presidency of Madras was as a preceutionary measure. It was not suggested that any proved necessity existed justifying its extension. It is questionable whether a hearty welcome could be secured to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the policy that is now being pursued when it has the effect of filling the goals with large numbers of persons, thus precipitating the very state of affairs that Mr. Gandhi and his followers declared they wished to exist and were eagerly looking forward to. It must be distressing in the extreme to His Royal Highness that on the occasion of his visit a number of persons should be thrown into gaol. In the above circumstance, the best course to be adopted would spear to be to trust to the ordinary law of the land and not to invoke the extraordinary powers that may be taken under the law.

I have done. May it be vouchsefed to us and the country to think correctly and act rightly.

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# FOR INDIA & ISLAM

## CALCUTTA SPEECHES.

*(Speech delivered at a meeting in Halliday Park.)*

After Mahatmaji had spoken, Maulana Mohammed Ali arose and spoke thus :—

Yesterday we visited the office of the Bara Bazar Congress Committee. We know that our merchants have foreign cloth in stock worth lakhs of rupees, Mahatmaji realises the cause of their anxiety. It is about a year that the Swadeshi resolution was passed in the Special Congress in Calcutta. You took it to be a child's play and thought that it will pass away as did the Boycott movement of Partition days. It is usual with merchants to buy when the rates are cheaper and to sell when the price rises. But sometimes they suffer losses. I can say by my own experience and Mahatmaji can verify it by his still wider experience that Marwaries bear these losses manfully and without sighs. If you have filled your shop with foreign cloth, try to dispose of it by means available to you. If you are wiser, you will see that by this time foreign cloth has gone out of fashion. What is required of you is not cessation of business, but that you should cease to be the commission

agents of firms of foreign cloth and take to business of Swadeshi cloth, which will make you richer and bring salvation to India.

Bengal should be the first to atone for its sins as it was the Dewani of Bengal that was acquired first by the East India Company. It was Bengal that first of all conceived the idea of Swadeshi movement. Now Bengal should come forward and lead India to boycott foreign cloth.

As to Muhammedans, said Mr. Mahammed Ali, they seem to have lost faith in their religion. Had they been sincere towards Islam, they would have seen in its light that froeign cloth was soiled with the blood of the men, women and children of Smyrna, massacred by the Greeks who have been secretly helped by British money, portion of which was contributed by Indian Muhammedans by purchasing foreign cloth. Consequently they can not escape responsibility for the tears of Turkish ladies whose sons have been killed by the Greeks.

Mohammedans raise the shouts of "Alla Ho Akbar", which means God is Great. If God is great, it is certainly greater than foreign cloth, which they seem to prize over their religion.

If they are such devoted lovers of foreign cloth, they should raise the cries of "Videshi Akbar" instead of "Alla Ho Akbar."

Then the Maulana laid emphasis upon Hindu-Muslim unity and condemned the Moplah outbreak in the strongest terms. He said Indian Muham-

medans were cowards as compared to Turks, whose extinction will mean the final disappearance of faithful Muhammedans from the face of the earth. If the Moplahs attempted to convert Hindus to the Islamic faith, were they or other Indian Mussalmans true believers of Islam? If they love the Laila of Islam, they should be ready to sacrifice anything and everything for her. However, if they were cowards, it would be better for them to vacate India for Hindus and depart to some other place.

Purchase and use of foreign cloth was dealing the death blow to the Khilafat cause. Hence foreign cloth was more unholy for a Muhammedan than pig's flesh.

The Moulana concluded his address after laying great emphasis upon non-violence and repeating his argument about the boycott of foreign cloth, which was so appealing that people began to throw caps, handkerchiefs, coats and waistcoats and other foreign garments from all sides, to which a match was applied by Mahatmaji.

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#### HARISH PARK SPEECH.

Mr. Mahomed Ali said that Bengal's responsibility in the struggle for freedom was the greater. In the first place, it was Bengal's weaving trade which the East India Company was the first to destroy. Secondly, Bengal was sending out Deshbandhu Das

as President of the Ahmedabad Congress which he hoped would prove to be the first sitting of the Indian Republic. He asked the students whether they were going to join the struggle for freedom. Let not the future historian say that while all India was struggling hard for freedom the Bengalee students were pouring over Shakespeare and Milton. Freedom could be won in two ways—by a maximum of sacrifice by a minimum number or a minimum of sacrifice by a maximum number. The latter kind is required of us. Let all put off foreign cloth to win freedom. If to win freedom we have to peel off our skin we should do so. We should not be ashamed to remain naked while the Draupadi of India was standing before the world all naked. Let all use the charka. Mr. M. Ali could not see the logic of those who deprecated the idea that India could clothe herself. They might as well say that India should send all her rice and wheat to England to be made into biscuits and wait till those come back to India.

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### MIRZAPUR PARK SPEECH.

*(Delivered on 9.9.21.)*

Maulana Mohammed Ali addressed the meeting thus :—He said that he would speak in English mainly what had been said by Mahatma ji. On addressing the Hindu and Muslim brethren he said

that he did not think that he should have many more occasions to address the public unless they all accompanied him to prison. Freedom was their goal and to achieve it one had to pass through prison gate. Even at the death-bed he would cry out for freedom. Freedom is a noble thing and must be fought for. Slavery came to India through the breach between Hindus and Mussalmans, and the cure lay in undoing the rupture. The Malabar riot had caused great anxiety to all Indians and they were all ashamed of it ; he as a Muslim was doubly ashamed. During his internment at Chindwara he heard of the rupture between the Hindus and the Mahomedans at Arrah. Naturally he felt sorry but he would not and did not blame the whole Hindu community for that ; so also even in this case of Moplah outbreak he hoped that they would not blame the whole Mahomedan Community. He did not know how the riot arose. It might be an agrarian trouble or it might be due to provocations by the Government.

But for all that they disregarded the religious injunction. No Mahomedan would sanction a forcible conversion. It is against the tenets of the "Koran" which says that there is no compulsion in faith. So it is the dictum of the "Koran." But first and foremost was, who were our informants? It was they who said unto the Moslems that Hindus had bullied them at Arrah.

He then continued that he was not afraid

of the prison and he had already seen it. All that he feared was violence on the part of his countrymen either Hindus or Mahomedans. Referring to the Moplahs he said that there might be many such ruptures and this was one of the strongest weapons in the hands of the Government. Government's policy is force and fraud and there is fraud even in that force. Beware of it and be absolutely non-violent. He did not know why even inspite of his protestations every one in England and America believed that the Ali brothers were in favour of violence and non-violence was unknown to them. He believed in force indeed, it was the principle of his religion to resort to force when violence would be made to their religion. But as long as he accepted the creed of Mahatmaji he would never be in favour of violence. The "Englishman," the "Statesman" and other Anglo-Indian papers thought it to be an impossibility and that Mahatmaji was a toy in their hands.

#### THE LIVING PRESENT.

He then referred to their proposed prosecution. He said that whatever might be done in India the Ali brothers must be responsible for it, no matter they might be 100 miles away. His brother went to Malabar 20 months back and he proposed to go there in a week or so. The Government added this past with the future and divided by 2 to make it the living present and the Ali brothers must be sent to jail for it.

He then came to the question of boycott. Some call it to be economically unsound. He could not understand how it was: Indian cotton goes over seven thousand miles to be turned into yarn and to come back to India to be used in the making of Dacca "Saries." How would we appreciate that amount of economy if a man would send his flour to seven thousand miles to be made into biscuits and then to be consumed at his breakfast table. Not one cotton tree grows in England but we send our cotton to enrich the British shippers, the British ship-builders, the British Railway men and to feed British belly. He then appealed to all to take to spinning in earnest. "We are to discard all the fineries. They are the bounds with which India is tied. We are not going to spin the Poet's gossamer but we are to spin tough and real Khaddar" He then entreated the ladies to use Khaddar. They might say that Khaddar would be heavier, "well what is heavier? Indian Khaddar or fetters of India? Indian Draupadi stands naked to-day, her cloth is in the hands of Manchester. For liberty's sake we should give our skin even while they were asking for cloth only. It was the better for India."

He again came to the question of the Moplah riots and concluded by saying that if they wanted violence they might have made it hot for the Europeans. If Mahatma had quelled the spirit of violence in India they had at least helped him in keeping down the Muhammadans. By the bye he

mentioned how one of the non-co-operators who were arrested in Behar for shouting Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai and for refusing to shout Mahatma Gandhi ki 'khai' (Destruction to Mahatma) replied to a Sub-Inspector of Police. He said, 'you are alone in the cell and we are seven, we can smash you if we like but do you know how you are saved? It is Mahatma Gandhi (for whom you asked us to shout 'khai') who saves you alike. So to-day many a European owes his life to him.

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#### GUZRAT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE SPEECH.

Maulana Mahomed Ali in the course of his presidential address at the Guzrat Provincial Khilafat Conference, Broach, said :—It was too late in the day to give any lengthy exposition of the Islamic doctrine on Khilafat especially as the Moslems in India had already shown by their unprecedented agitation, that there was hardly any Moslem,—man, woman, or child, who did not understand that the existence of Islam was bound up with the existence of Khilafat. He would content himself by alluding to the famous incident when the most loving companions of the Prophet left Him unburied for more than a day and considered it a most important duty to others as Mussalmans to settle the question of Khilafat than to attend to the obsequies of a Prophet whom they loved above all else in the world. For,

the regulation of Khilafat was the regulation of the lives of the Mussalmans in their corporate capacity. It was impossible for Indian Mussalmans to-day to give up the thought of maintaining power and prestige of Khilafat intact and of keeping sanctity of the island of Arabia inviolate, without giving up their faith here and the hope of salvation hereafter, and he asked everyone concerned to answer clearly that one question whether he could reasonably ask a man to renounce his faith for the sake of any other consideration and yet it is that the Indian Moslem supporters of Khilafat are in practice being asked.

The Maulana then emphasised the feeling about him in the presence of his Maker, in the presence of that assembly and if it were possible in the sight and hearing of the whole world he would only declare them. Neither he nor his brother would ever be a party to the framing or the publication of any statement which could be understood to mean that when a clear call of religion came to them they would do less than what the 313 warriors in the first battle of Islam did, under the guidance of their Prophet, to uphold the cause of Islam. Continuing the Maulana said that present time was the worst that Islam had experienced in its long history of thirteen hundred years and he appealed to all Moslems to rally round the Banner of Khilafat and Islam if they desired to remain Moslems. Only a few days ago occurred the anniversary of the battle of Badr the first occasion on which the poor persecuted inoffensive

Moslems were permitted to unsheathe the sword for pure self-defence. The speaker described the circumstances of that battle and added that only 313 Mussalmans including lads of 15 and some even younger were all that were then available for their faith. He considered that Islam was exposed to less danger in that first encounter in the field of the battle than to-day because the Mussalmans lacked that abounding faith in the Divine succour, and in their own love of Islam.

#### ALI BROTHERS' LETTER TO PRESS.

Referring to the Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club dinner he said he knew of no speech of his or of his brother in which either had incited anyone to violence nor did they know of any speech which they had undertaken not to repeat. Their public pronouncement had been worded in the clearest possible manner and no one was entitled to read into its meaning that it did not contain. They certainly had expressed regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passage. In some speeches of theirs to which some friends had drawn attention and they felt convinced that they owed it not to this Government which had still to make amends for the Jalianwalla Bagh and the crawling order but to the non-violent non-co-operation movement which was as pure as it was powerful and to which they were so deeply attached as their dearly beloved leader Mahatma Gandhi said that they should publicly express their

regret even for the heat of some stray passages which it was contended that some people could misinterpret as an incitement to violence. Unlike Government they had no personal prestige to maintain beyond the prestige of truth and they could not sacrifice honesty for prestige. Moreover their attachment to that powerful movement of non-violent non-co-operation was so deep and their belief in its ultimate and speedy success was so great that the moment they heard that the opponents of that movement were endeavouring to place some detached and stray passages of their speeches as obstacles in the way of the acceptance of the demands they agreed to issue a clearly-worded statement which they had published so that no possible excuse could thereafter remain for those opposed to the movement of Non-co-operation to continue their opposition to it. They held that no personality was important to-day that it would be permitted to jeopardise the success of their great movement and so far as they themselves were concerned they would never dream of allowing themselves to stand in the way of the speedy success which their movement was destined to achieve. They would rather stretch a point against themselves than hinder the speedy success of non-co-operation. But it was futile and far from honest for anyone to read into their published statement a recognition that any passage in their speeches reasonably bore the interpretation that it was intended to incite or actually incited to violence.

They refused to recognise such an interpretation as has been sought to be put upon some passage in their speeches and gave no undertaking for future which they had not already given in the past when they agreed to take their proper share in conducting the non-violent non-co-operation movement under the banner of their guide, philosopher, and friend Mahatma Gandhi and the fear of any impending prosecution did not influence their conduct in the least. It was the fear of God and the love of their country that were the motives of their conduct. It was to their country and their co-workers that their public assurance and promise were in the first instance given, though the Government and those who co-operated with it were equally welcome to their assurance and promise. Neither they nor anyone else on their behalf had ever dreamt of bargaining with this Government and to talk of giving up their prosecution.

#### AHIMSA.

They would once more emphasise that while their present policy coincided entirely with the creed of Mahatma Gandhi and those few who like him believed in Ahimsa alone, for all time their creed did not coincide with the Mahatma's but also permitted use of force in self-defence and in certain circumstances made the use of such force obligatory.

The Mussalmans could advocate *Ahimsa* like the Hindus only if they could be convinced that their

leaders were not asking them to give up *Himsa* for all time. They believed as much in the use of force as their Prophet and His companions believed but they also believe as much in non-violence and in the doctrine of Victory through suffering as their Prophet and His companions had believed when for 3 long years they underwent even suffering including three years of the most rigorous form of boycott during the stay in Mecca whence they had to migrate to Medina before ever they had to recourse to force in opposition to force. The Ali brothers wished to guard themselves against being understood directly or indirectly to be countenancing violence whilst non-violent non-co-operation was being prosecuted in the country. It was their firm opinion based upon experience of working the Non-co-operation Programme that the movement had taken deep roots in the country and that it would be absolutely enough for achieving their purpose, namely redress of Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swarajya even during the year and they were fully convinced that the success of their movement depended entirely upon the continuance of the spirit of non-violence among the people. Whilst therefore gladly reiterating their faithful adherence to the programme of non-violent non-co-operation they must reserve their right to take up arms against the enemies of Islam should non-co-operation be found to have failed and should a *Jehad* be proclaimed in terms of the law of Islam. No follower of the faith could shirk clear duty if it

ever come to him as it had come to the warriors of Badr of responding to the call of *Jehad*. But when the Prophet of God, whose example every Muslim must seek to follow led his people on the field of Badr and effectively used his own lance on the field of Ohad? He had also during the greater part of his career as a Prophet kept his sword unsheathed and meekly bore every insult, humiliation and suffering that his enemies could inflict without causing in return the least suffering to them.

Continuing the Maulana said he and his brother knew Mussalmans better than any Non-Moslem could, and here the speaker described the Prophet's life and Islamic teachings in great detail. It was not because Mahatma Gandhi had preached *Ahimsa* that he is preaching it to Mussalmans but because their Prophet also had preached and practised before they were permitted in the fast and extremity to unsheathe their sword in defence of Islam against its implacable foes. The teaching of Mahatma Gandhi was dear to them because in similar circumstances it had been the teaching of their Prophet. But should circumstances change, nobody knew better than Mahatma and nobody honoured them more for it than he did that they would follow their own faith and their own conscience. What they certainly considered mean and despicable beyond measure to do was to sail under false colours and make use of the non-violent non-co-operation movement to create an atmosphere of preparedness for the use of violence. If nothing else,

the honour of Islam itself demanded from the Ali brothers and those whom they could influence a faithful and literal adherence to the joint programme worked by the Hindus and the Mussalmans and the followers of other faiths at two successive sessions of the Congress and initiated in the first instance by the Central Khilafat Committee itself. They were glad that Government had abandoned the idea of prosecuting them for adherence to their faith but they would have equally and gladly faced such a prosecution. What concerned them was the movement of non-co-operation and keeping faith with their co-workers not what Government chose to do or not to do. Had they feared an impending prosecution and recanted from their earlier beliefs the time to do that was at Allahabad some weeks ago when it was at first arranged to their knowledge that they would be arrested and prosecuted but they had only emphasised still further their beliefs on that occasion. If to-day they issued a public statement regretting the unnecessary heat of some detached passages in their speeches it was because of their friends who had drawn their attention to them and whom they were anxious to placate and obey as long as they could do it without prejudice to their faith and not because of a foreign Government to which they owed nothing but their present misery.

Concluding the Maulana told the Mussalmans that to-day only monetary sacrifice was required of them and not the sacrifice of life and made a stirring appeal

in connection with the forthcoming Id to rescue from starvation the orphans of those Turkish martyrs whom Indian soldiers and latterly the Greek had killed during the war. That was the least reparation that they could make for their past sinful conduct and thus save the race of those who had defended Islam with their lives during the last four centuries (prolonged cheers).

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#### "EDUCATE THE MASSES."

Maulana Mahammed Ali delivered a lecture on "The Present Situation" at Jitikar's Wadi on Tuesday evening before a very large audience, Mr. Shaukat Ali presiding.

The President said his brother and he had determined to devote their lives to the service of their country. Their demands were the righting of the Punjab wrongs, the solution of the Khilafat question and the immediate grant of Swaraj. Whether Swaraj was granted to them or not, they were going to get it. They were determined to get it within the next eight months and get it they would.

Mr. Mahammed Ali said they could not have any distinctions in these days, and the classes had got to take political education to the masses. Mr. Jinnah was interrupted when he asked "what would you do when you go to the villages" by the remark that they would educate the masses. Mr. Jinnah turned round

and said "young men, the villagers know these things better than yourselves". He would tell Mr. Jinnah that the villagers knew better than even him. They were following the programme sketched out for them by Mr. Gandhi and the time would soon come when the villagers would be politically educated, and they would not be able to divide the people into classes and masses so far as Indian politics were concerned. That was the lesson to be brought home to men like Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Jayakar.

He had read what Mr. Jinnah had said many times and he had come to the conclusion that he really did not know the villagers. There were two kinds of leaders—those who came to you and spoke of politics and there were the angels of grace and ministers like Mr. Paranipye—and when they were speaking about Mr. Gokhale they spoke about Mahatma Gandhi, and that was the case with all news-papers and people. Mr. Gandhi had pervaded the whole atmosphere and he was glad of that. Even the King could not spare him and for the first time he had spoken about Swaraj. Viceroys and Governors were unable to speak without speaking of co-operation. And the guide to the Non-Co-operation movement was Mahatma Gandhi.

#### WHAT WOULD GOKHALE HAVE DONE.

He did not know what Mr. Gokhale would have done if he were alive to-day. Such a speculation was something in the nature of an impertinence to

the dead. None of them knew what the great men, who were dead long ago, would have done if they had lived now, for the circumstances were entirely altered. Was there any reason why they should attribute any want of growth to these men? Their greatness really consisted in the fact that they grew with the times. To that extent they had found something to criticise in Gokhale, to that extent he had not grown. He did not know what Gokhale would have done, but he would tell them what he should have done and that was to stand by his country,—where the dignity and self-respect of his countrymen were concerned. To say that Mr. Gokhale would have been minister in the council like Bannerjea or that he would have taken a title like him was to libel his memory. For what after all were these ministers? A school boy when asked to define what were amphibious creatures, said—an amphibious creature is a creature that cannot live in water and dies on land. Such were their ministers. They could not live with the people, meet them at the Shantaram's chawl, could not address a meeting and when they went to Government they could not get much satisfaction either. To say that Mr. Gokhale would have acted likewise was to repeat a libel on his memory.

#### N. C. O. THE ONLY REMEDY.

The real thing was what they had got to do to-day,—and there was only one course open to them,—and that was Non-co-operation. Mr. Jinnah with

a degree of assurance that was characteristic of him said "Young men take it from me that the villagers know many things better than you." He knew Mr. Jinnah was an authority on many subjects, but he had yet to know that he was an authority on the villagers ; he did not know much about the chawls, where they lived, and therefore they could not expect much from Mr. Jinnah. If Gokhale was anything like what they described him to be, then he would say that Mr. Gokhale had his weaknesses, and that he was not a man of the masses and that he was not one of them. Everybody said in those days that he represented the masses ; even the officials said that. The officials said that they represented the dumb masses of India—but if the masses were dumb how could they speak to the officials?

#### A PURELY CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT.

Mr. Jinnah's grievance about the non-co-operation movement was that it was not a constitutional movement. To people like that, he would say this : Humanity could not be measured by the foot-rule we had borrowed from Europe. If anybody had said that the history of England and Europe had been constitutional, then Indians knew they were proceeding just as those human beings had proceeded. All human beings had to proceed like that. He wanted to ask Mr. Jinnah about the history of Magna Charta—whether there was a Congress which

in its 35th year passed an angry resolution and thereby got the Magna Charta?

### SACRIFICE, KEY TO SUCCESS.

But everybody knew this : that unless they were prepared, as the very last resource, to sacrifice everything they possessed for the things they had not got they would not get the things which they wanted. That was the lesson of history, and every man in this country should learn it. Until they were willing to make sacrifices for their country they would not get anything. They would not get anything if they continued to make money by getting fat briefs. The defect of our political system was that there was nothing absolutely behind it. He was, however, glad that Mr. Jinnah could not swallow even Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas—he stuck in the throat of Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah said that if the people had sent their best to the council there would not have been that compromise on Mr. Jamnadas' resolution on the Punjab atrocities. But that was the talk of 400 B. C. for what would have happened? Supposing 20 to 30 people had gone to the councils what would have happened? Mr. Jinnah had told them that they would have fought to the bitter end. and somebody shouted out that the resolution would not have been allowed., Mr. Jinnah's answer was that Government would have been compelled to suspend the assembly in less than a year. But who would have cared? (Laughter) When Cromwell

turned out the Parliament people said in the words of a historian, not a dog barked and not a dog would have barked if these 20 to 30 men had left the councils and the council had been suspended.

#### THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

But if they could make the Non-Co-operation movement successful and train the villagers and send really representative men to the councils and these representatives walked out of the councils then they would have a revolution,—and they wanted such a revolution, for the masses had learnt not to give their votes. Even in the remotest villages where Mr. Gandhi never had been they knew that they were asked by Mr. Gandhi not to give their votes. He felt certain that Mr. Gandhi came to India because he felt certain, and found by experience, that he could not win the battle in South Africa because India would not allow him. The battle for Swaraj had to be fought in India and when it was won they would win the battle in South Africa, in Natal, in Canada and many other countries. What was the use of going to the councils and talking there as much as they liked? They could not do anything there, except talk. When they had got the country at their back they could demand anything they liked and they would get it. At the present time they were playing a children's game, but when Mr. Jinnah talked of the real thing—of the burning fire, etc.,—he was mixing up two things which could not be

combined. They could not speak of these two things in the same breath.

Sir W. Vincent stood up in the Council and accepted the resolution moved by Mr. Jamnadas and Indians were supposed to feel grateful about it. They could not forget the past. If the speaker felt certain that there was the least sorrow and regret in the heart of Sir W. Vincent he would go on his knees into the councils and beg humbly of him to let him take part in it in however humble a capacity—he would do that if he felt there was the slightest change of heart and regret. He was not convinced of the change of heart.

#### THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Continuing, said the speaker, the Government officials were making use of the Royal family for their own purposes. They were prostituting their name so that Indians could remain in the Empire. The speaker then gave an account of what took place in Calcutta and Dilhi when the Duke visited those places. When people shouted "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" the officials told the Duke that the people were doing it in his honour. Englishmen, when they came to India, said the speaker, lived apart from the people; they did not know what was happening in India—they were really living in England and Scotland although they were in India. When he was a correspondent of "The Times of India" Sir Stanley Reed once asked him what right

the Turks had to remain in Constantinople and in Europe? The speaker said they had a right to be in Constantinople because they had been there for the last 400 years. To that he was told that it did not matter. And the English were in India only 150 years—they were only in the middle of the second century and from the way they were behaving the speaker thought the English would not pass the second century in this country.

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## REFERENCE TO MR. YAKUB HASSAN.

Continuing said the speaker when Mr. Chotani was asked to attend the Conference he nominated Mr. Yakub Hassan to accompany him to England and on the 16th February Mr. Yakub Hassan was being taken to the jail. Their rulers did not understand politics to-day; they understood only Mr. Gandhi's politics. If Mr. Gokhale had been alive to-day he would have suffered for his country, and if he had refused to suffer he would have been forgotten. How many people had they forgotten whose names were seen in the headlines of newspapers only recently? The men who were afraid of being shouted down by an audience had no business to deal with politics. He asked the lawyers why they did not come into the public and make speeches. It was because there was still a small voice within them that told them the time has passed for their old tactics

—all those things belonged to 4,000 B.C.—The present was the time of people, who were ready to suffer for their country. They were the real politics in any sense of the word.

Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Jayaker wanted positive things and not inactive things. What was it that this Non-co-operation taught them? First of all, it taught them to be non-violent. But some people said the non-violence of the Ali Brothers was only skin-deep. They must have pretty thick skins! Mr. Jinnah was speaking of crowds because he did not know them—an Indian crowd was the most docile and most quiet crowd. If Mr. Gokhale was afraid of the masses then he would say that Mr. Gokhale did not know those masses. Those men who were really afraid of the masses did not show any anxiety about them; they did not go amongst the masses and preach to them. They were afraid of the violence of the masses, but people who had fat balances had cause to be afraid of the masses.

#### ANARCHY—NOT COWARDICE.

Some people spoke of the Bolshevik agents in India and if the Government knew of these agents in India it was a pity they did not know anything of the people of India. Mr. Gandhi did not care how many students came out of the college, how many lawyers came out of the law Courts, his one anxiety was about the masses. Mr. Gandhi said he had a great duty to the masses and he wanted to drive fear out

of their hearts so that they could face the Artillery ; he wanted to take out the fear of Artillery from their minds. The Mahatma rather preferred to have anarchy than cowardice among the people. Mr. Mahomed Ali said they could get Swaraj if not by peaceful means at least by violent means and for that purpose they would have to train the people.

Mr. Bunker in proposing a vote of thanks to the speaker, said the presence of the Ali Brothers had taught them to speak frankly what they had in their innermost heart, and the people of Bombay were thankful to them for it.—*The Bombay Cronicale*.

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### ON THE EVE OF HIS ARREST.

#### MOULANA MOHAMED ALI'S MESSAGE.

Mr. H. M. Hyat wired from Bombay on the 22nd Sept. 1922.

On the eve of his arrest my loving and beloved chief Maulana Mahamed Ali ordered me to convey the following message from him to his Hindu and Muslim friends and admirers in the country :— "Whosoever has any love or regard for us must take my arrest in a calm and peaceful spirit and give expression to that love and regard in two and only two ways, firstly, by contributing all that a Mussalman possibly can towards the Smyrna Relief and Angora Munitions Funds and secondly, to discard all foreign cloths and wear pure Swadeshi. I hope my arrest

will give greater courage and hope to my friends and followers who, I expect, would carry on the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with tenfold zeal, energy and firmness, undeterred by any fear of repression but hopeful of God Almighty's choicest blessings in this righteous cause. "Isha Allah, victory is ours and is in sight."

At Waltair where Maulana Mahomed Ali was arrested and where I and his Begum Sahiba were allowed to see him for a couple of minutes Maulana Mahomed Ali emphatically reaffirmed the above message. He also commanded me to convey his love and devotion to the National Muslim University of Aligarh, its staff and students, his dearly beloved pupils and colleagues whom he wished to convey his assurance that he had made Aligarh his home and in his absence his wife shall regard it as such.

The brave lady in the presence of her brave husband assured me that she would bring her children to Aligarh and live there along with her equally dear children of the National University and wherever she might be called upon to go for work among the womenfolk of the country, Aligarh would be her headquarters whither she would return. The Maulana Sahib's arrest has stiffened the determination of his devoted pupils now working as propagandists in Madras presidency, who are prepared to sacrifice their all in the prosecution of the work to which they were deputed by the Maulana Sahib. It is hoped similar reports will be received from the other propa-

gandists of Aligarh National University now scattered all over the country. The Begam Sahiba, having spent five busy days in Madras amongst Hindu and Muslim ladies in connection with the Angora Munitions Fund and Swadeshi and having performed the inauguration ceremony of a girl's school at Madras, was permitted by Mahatmaji to return to Bombay where she arrived by Madras Mail this morning. She proceeds to Karachi to-morrow night by Gujrat mail to be present there during the trial of her husband and Maulana Shaukat Ali. I shall be in attendance on the Begam Sahiba during the journey to Karachi.

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#### THE KHILAFAT DELEGATION.

The Indian Khilafat Delegation to England which left India in February 1920 was received by Mr. Fisher, the British Minister, acting on behalf of Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, on 2nd March 1920. The Delegation consisted of :—

*Mr. Mohammed Ali, Mr. Syed Hossain, Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nedri, and Mr. Hasan Mohamed Hayat, Secretary.*

There were also present from the India Office :—

*Sir William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Mr. J.E. Sheckburgh, C.B., and Mr. S.K. Brown.*

Mr. Fisher asked Mr. Mohammed Ali to open the case.

*Mr. Mohammed Ali:* I think, Sir, it is probably understood by the Secretary of State that we held at Amritsar a Session of the All India Khilafat Conference during the early part of this year when a resolution was passed for a second time that a Delegation should proceed to Europe and America, in the first instance, to lay before His Majesty's Government and the Allies, and of course the Peace Conference, the point of view of the Mussulmans generally, explaining their religious obligations and sentiments, and the position of Indian Mussulmans, and also making clear to His Majesty's Government the support that Mussulmans are receiving in this matter from the vast bulk of Indian opinion.

With regard to this matter, we did not at the time know when precisely the Peace Conference was making a settlement with the Turks, and the Viceroy in his reply to our Address even expressed the fear that we might arrive too late to be heard before the final settlement. We trust that is not the case ; and we wired to the Secretary of State for India and to the Prime Minister immediately on landing at Venice on the 22nd February, urging that we should be given a full and fair hearing before any decisions were taken. We are now here and are thankful for being received by you this evening on behalf of Mr. Montagu, about whose illness we are very sorry to hear.

Before we enter into any explanation of our religious obligations and views, I should like to say

that on our arrival here, and even in the course of our journey across Europe, we found that a certain kind of propaganda was being carried on by the Armenians and the Greeks and others hostile to Turkey, who have been accusing the Turks of most horrible and revolting crimes. We, for our part, are, to speak quite frankly, not in a position to work in the same manner here, because, in the first place we can afford neither the money nor the morals for such a propaganda ; and, in the next place, because we are not at all in touch with the Turks, who are after all, the principal people concerned in the matter : consequently we cannot verify any accusations however grave. But we note that in the last Session of the All India Khilafat Conference held at Bombay on the 15th and 16th February, a resolution was passed to the effect that a Delegation of Indian Mussulmans should proceed to Asia Minor as well as to other regions in the Empire of the Khilafat. When this Delegation have visited the parts from which massacres are being reported at this critical moment, we shall be in a position to affirm to deny the truth of these reports.

But our position is, above all, of a religious character. Before I go into details, I should like to mention that this question is to the Indian Mussulmans a vital question of religion.

Sometimes it is being put forward that Indian Mussulmans desire to dictate to His Majesty's Government and to the Allies. I assure you, Sir, that

nothing could be farther from our minds than to use any expression that could be construed into a desire to dictate or to threaten. But the question is whether the settlement with Turkey is an affair of Imperial Policy or merely a question affecting Great Britain. If this is a question affecting Great Britain alone, we have nothing further to say. But if, on the contrary, it is a question affecting the whole of the Empire, as it clearly is, then we have equally clearly a *locus standi*, and the policy of the Empire can no more be dictated by Great Britain alone than by Indian Mussalmans. It must be a common policy of the whole Empire. I think that it has been recognised by the entire community in India, both Musalmans and Hindus, that things have come to such a pass that, as subjects of His Majesty, we should be failing in our duty if we did not say how matters stand with us.

It is not a question of Moslem sentiments, if by that we understand feelings that may be changed at will. There are certain clear religious obligations imposed on us by our faith. The question of the Khilafat is not only part of our faith, but, if I may put it in that way, it is the whole of our faith. The functions of the Khilafat unite both temporal and spiritual work which Islam believes it is charged with doing. At all times since the death of the Prophet there has been a Khilafat, and it must be preserved at all times by the entire body of the Mussulmans. There has been no such thing as a merely spiritual

headship of Islam. Islam, as we regard it, is the last word in ethics, and the last word in guidance in all our affairs. Therefore every act of a Mussulman's life is, and must be, a religious act. Our duty to His Majesty is a religious duty. A man's duty to his family and his friends must be considered a religious duty. Therefore it would not be correct to try to distinguish between temporal leadership and spiritual leadership in this matter. The Khalifa is something more than a Pope. We feel there is likely to be some misunderstanding about this, and we consider it our duty to let it be known how we stand in regard to the Khilafat.

This institution, which is both temporal and spiritual is, as I have said, to be preserved by the entire body of Islam. It is necessary for the Khalifa to have a certain amount of temporal power for the defence of our faith, and although it may vary from time to time according to the strength of his possible enemies, there must always be a minimum which cannot be reduced with safety. We consider, speaking generally, that the Khalifa's power had been reduced after the Balkan war to about the minimum with which a Khalifa can maintain his dignity and act effectively as Defender of the Faith. That is why our irreducible minimum is the restoration of the '*status quo ante bellum*'. With less than that the Mussulmans do not think the Khalifa and the Commander of the Faithful could effectively

defend our faith, if in any part of the world our religious freedom came to be in jeopardy.

We do not rule out by any means political, as apart from territorial, changes. We have no objection if the Peace Conference is to consider whether autonomy could be given to various non-Turkish communities living within the Turkish Empire, whether they be Christian, Muslim, or Jew. This would coincide entirely with the 12th point of President Wilson's fourteen points, which requires that security of life and opportunities of autonomous development should be assured to these communities. For these guarantees may be taken from the Ottoman Government consistently with the dignity of a Sovereign State.

Then, quite apart from the main question of the preservation of the Khilafat with adequate temporal power, there is the question of the Jazirat-ul-Arab or "the Island of Arabia". To European geographers Arabia is only a Peninsula, bounded on the fourth side by land. But to Musalmans it has always been an Island, the fourth boundary being the waters of Tigris and the Euphrates. It thus includes not only Hedjaz, Yemen, Nejd and other provinces commonly included in Arabia, but also Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. It is a religious obligation, based on the dying injunction of the Prophet, that within these limits there should be no non-Moslem control of any kind whatsoever. There was some likelihood of mandates being given to Christian Powers like

America, France, and Great Britain herself within that territory. We therefore considered it our duty to explain matters to the Indian Government, and then to the English Government and to make it clear that no Mussulman could ever acquiesce in this. No Moslem could reconcile this to his conscience.

*Mr. Fisher* : I understand you to say that the Moslem conscience could not acquiesce in a mandate over a territory such as Palestine or Syria being given to a Christian Power. How, on that showing, would it be right for the Moslem conscience to acquiesce in the British Sovereignty over India?

*Mr. Syed Hossain* : There is a great deal of difference. Arabia contains the Holy places. It is in regard to this tract that control by non-Moslem communities is ruled out.

*Mr. Mohamed Ali* : Although I should be very sorry indeed to be understood to say anything at all that would tend to lessen the value of Constantinople, which has for nearly five centuries been the seat of the Khilafat, to Muslim sentiment, and to suggest that Mussalmans could willingly agree to lose any part of Dar-ul-Islam, I must say that even if Constantinople went out of Moslem hands, it would not have the same effect as if any portion of the sacred territory of the Jazirat-ul-Arab went out, or was placed under a non-Moslem mandatory. This tract, for the most part barren, has been marked out in a special manner in the various Scriptures as being the land of the prophets, and it is probably

on that account that control over every part of it is required by Islam to be entirely Moslem. We, who consider ourselves to be the spiritual heirs of Abraham and Moses and Jesus, consider that this is a land apart and consecrated in a peculiar degree and reserved for us. We are charged with the duty of maintaining its sanctity inviolate, of keeping it peaceful and tranquil, a sanctuary for the Faithful, and safe for Theocracy. In order to preserve that sanctity and peace and tranquility which we desire, it is necessary that it should remain with us. It would be a sad day indeed for us when any part of it goes out of the hands of the Mussalmans, for then we would have betrayed a divine trust. Mussalmans will never acquiesce in any arrangement that permitted any form of control being exercised by a non-Moslem Power over any part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab.

Then there is a series of religious injunction with regard to the Holy places. The three sacred Harems of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem must always be in the custody and under the wardenship of the Khilafat, and the wardenship of no one else could satisfy the conscience of Mussalmans. Mussalmans also claim that the Shrines of Najaf, of Karbala, Kazimain, Samarra and Baghdad should remain under his wardenship. Non-Moslem control over the territory in which they are situated is not at all permissible.

If I may now reverse the order in which I have outlined the threefold claim of the Mussalmans, I

will say that the three sacred Harems of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, and the Holy shrines I have named in Mesopotamia, must continue to remain under the wardenship of the Khalifa precisely as they did before the war. They are all situated within the Jazirat ul-Arab, and there must be exclusive Moslem control over every part of that region. Now, if that control is the Khalifa's control as before the war, not only will this religious requirement be fulfilled, but it will also assist in the fulfilment of the first religious requirements to which I have referred, namely, the preservation of the Khilafat with temporal power adequate for purposes of the defence of our faith. Therefore, if, on the one hand, the pledge of the Prime Minister of the 5th Jan. 1918, the solemnity of which he has now fully proclaimed, is redeemed in its entirety, and the 12th point of President Wilson's fourteen points, on the basis of which armistice was concluded with Turkey, is honoured in the observance, and, on the other hand, the religious requirements imposed on the Mussulmans by their faith with regard to the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Holy Places are respected, as we claim they should be respected, as the basis of our loyalty, then the main requirement of the preservation of the Khilafat will be fulfilled, and the territorial *status quo ante bellum* would be restored. This delegation will be satisfied if the Khilafat is thus preserved with sufficient territory and temporal power, and, if necessary, guarantees may be taken

for good Government, security of life, religious toleration and opportunities of autonomous development of the subject races consistently with the dignity and independence of the Sovereign.

I would mention here that, while we recognise that it is the bounden duty of their subjects to maintain their allegiance to the Allied and Associated Governments, we desire to say that all Mussulmans are bound at the same time to maintain their allegiance to the Khilafat, and ask you to recognise that we have our religious as well as our political obligations. We do not desire, nor is it possible for us, to move away from the political position in which we stand, just as we do not desire that our position should be made embarrassing by any ill-considered action of these Governments with regard to the Khilafa's Government. If demands were made which we could not satisfy without prejudice to our slavation, we would have to consider the whole position in that case.

As regards the propaganda carried on in this country against the Turks, we feel that, when the Turks are accused of crimes against humanity, these accusations are due in a great measure to religious and racial prejudices ingrained for centuries past in the communities that indulge in these accusations, and in no inconsiderable measure also to the greed and covetousness of Turkey's neighbours that have for long wanted to grab as much as they could of Ottoman territories. To say the very least of it,

these crimes have been much exaggerated. In some parts of the Christian world it is considered that the Turks should be driven out of Constantinople not only because they are Turks and guilty of criminal conduct, but because they are Moslem, and Islam itself is a blight. We have to remove these deeply-rooted prejudices and repudiate the association of criminal conduct with Islam. But at the same time we are also anxious to exert our influence as Mussalmans so that not only such things, but even the suspicion of such things, should not be possible in future. As regards the character of the Turk, we think it very different indeed from what it has so often been described to be. We should not like to say anything at all about the character of the propaganda of the Churches among other sources of mischief and prejudice. We are not here to increase any kind of bitterness. As a matter of fact, we have come on a mission of peace. But this much we will say, that before one can judge the Turks impartially, one has to inquire into the intrigues carried on for two centuries at least by the enemies of Turkey to foment trouble among her Christian subjects, and thereby make out a plausible case for lopping off parts of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and Asia. One will also have to enquire into the character of the dealings of these Christian populations of Turkey with their Moslem neighbours, and ascertain whether these dealings were neighbourly or provocative. In any case, we think that even if

the Turks have been to a certain extent to blame, it must be admitted that they had a very great lesson, and I can assure you, Sir, that Indian Mussalmans do not think that they have nothing more to do if their claims are satisfied ; if a settlement is made such as they hope for, they would endeavour to create a desire in the Turks for reconciliation with the British Government and their Allies. They would also impress upon the Turks that not only must such atrocities, as they are so recklessly accused of, not occur, but they must also be above suspicion of committing such atrocities. As Mussalmans, we have to wipe off the stain of inhumanity from the fair name of Islam, and the British Government and their Allies can rest assured that Indian Mussalmans will not fail in their duty towards Islam in a matter of this kind. Their restraining influence would be utilised to the fullest extent. Our mission is of a double character. It is our duty to represent matters to His Majesty's Government, because we are his subjects ; and it is our duty to represent matters to the Khalifa, who is the Commander of the Faithful. Both these duties we should like to observe. If a settlement such as we desire is made with the Khilafat, our influence for the good would naturally greatly increase, and it would be used in the interest of the Empire and of humanity. But if the settlement goes against our sentiments and religious obligations, without saying one word which may likely to be misconstrued into a threat, we must frankly state

that we shall have to think of our religious duty first.

I should like to say that it is very difficult for His Majesty's Government, removed as it is, both in point of distance and religious and political surroundings, from India, to understand what is actually happening there. I do not like to say anything against the Government of India or the officials there, if I can help it. They have been exceedingly courteous in receiving our deputation and facilitating our departure from India and our coming over here. But I must say that the official world does not fully understand what is passing in the hearts of the people of the country. At any rate, I think we are in a better position to understand how things stand with our people. A considerable portion of my life has been more or less a blank lately, owing to internment and incarceration. I assure you, Sir, it was only when we came out of the prison and saw things with our own eyes that we discovered, and it was a great shock to us—what the real state of the country was at the time of our release. India has changed so enormously that anyone who knew it five years ago would not recognise it to-day. It has changed so rapidly in fact that it is no longer a question of years but of months. Well, the officials in India at any rate do understand better than most people here that if in the settlement with Turkey regard is not had for the religious obligations and the position of the Mussalmans, it will be a very serious matter. Indeed. I am not an Englishman, and cannot pretend

to know the English language as well as Englishmen themselves know it, and I fear that words that I may use may sometimes bear a significance that I may not have intended. It is difficult for me to explain, but I will say this. I heard in the House of Commons, soon after we came over to London and went to hear the debate on Constantinople, Col. Wedgwood say: "You can get a great deal out of Englishmen by persuading them, but you must not use threats." Well, Sir, I suppose that is true of every self-respecting people, and since it is true of Englishmen also, I will beg of any Englishman, I will beg of Col. Wedgwood, and I will beg of you, Sir, to tell me how to frame a warning, that would be the most serious of warnings, but would not be construed into a threat.

Finally, I may add that in some quarters hostile to Turkey, and even to India, efforts are being made to belittle the importance of the mission which has brought us here, and it is said that the Indian Khilafat Delegation is unimpressive. With reference to this, all that I can say is that we could have brought a larger body of men with us, and also people more distinguished than ourselves. But it must be understood that work has to be done in India also, and we cannot spare many men for the work here ; and it ought to be understood that we do represent the entire body of Mussalmans of India, and the vast bulk of our Hindu compatriots and others who are in this matter at one with us.

*Mr. Syed Hosain*—I should like to supplement what has been said by one or two observations. The question has been raised both in the Press, here and in India, that in this matter Muhammadan agitators are trying to make political capital, and that there is no foundation of any religious feeling in it. I should like to say that this is utterly untrue. In this matter, at any rate, it is our duty to inform His Majesty's Government that it is not really a political question so far as we are concerned. It is purely a religious question. I should like to say this in support that Turkey has been at war with the various European nations for the last 300 years. Sometimes she has fought with the active support of England. Sometimes she has won, sometimes lost. We, Muhammadans in India, never raised the question of the Khilafat at all. This is the first time in the history of British rule in India that the question has arisen and it has been raised now because the Khilafat has been put in jeopardy. That is the important feature. It is in jeopardy for this reason. As the result of this last war the territories of the Ottoman Empire, including those regions regarded as sacred, are being brought into the melting pot. The impression in India is that some of these territories are about to be annexed by Great Britain herself, and I can assure you that this possibility has created a very great deal of anxiety and alarm and very genuine feelings which are not pleasant because, as the Mohammedans view it, up to now strict reli-

gious neutrality has been the foundation of British rule in India ; and certainly the loyalty of the Indian Mohammedans, which has been a tradition of English rule, has been largely built up by the fact that so far as their religious life was concerned, they enjoyed a very uncommon degree of freedom and security. But now the situation is that apparently Great Britain herself is going to be a party to the dismemberment not only of the Turkish Empire, but also of the actual realm of the Khilafat. This area according to Islamic law, has got to be under the guardianship of the Khilafat and nobody else. If by any direction of the British Empire this region is given to any non-Islamic power, the Indian Mohammedans has got to choose between his loyalty to the British Crown and his spiritual allegiance to the Khalifa. It is a choice which he would prefer to avoid. I mention this point to make it clear that this is not a political question. It is a religious question.

Then I would say this. The question has also been raised in more than one quarter that the Hindus in India have got nothing on earth to do with the Khilafat question, and that the fact that they are making common cause with the Mohammedans in itself argues that this is a political movement rather than a religious question. As to that, I would say that if you were aware of recent facts in Indian national life, you would at once see that this is not the case. During the last few months, certainly during the last year, there has been a very extra-

ordinary fusion of Hindu and Mohammedan feeling in India, and the reason why the Hindus have come into this movement is because from the Indian point of view they have come to regard the Khilafat issue as a national rather than a sectarian question. They have taken this view chiefly on account of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has laid down the principle that inasmuch as the chief thing we are out to have is Indian national unity, if it is the case that so many crores of Indian Mohammedans feel that is a matter of life and death to them, then the Hindu, consistently with the idea of national unity, cannot stand aside. Mr. Gandhi has said they must make common cause with their Mohammedan compatriots exactly as he would expect us to make common cause with the Hindus were up against similar difficulties. That is why there has been nothing of a hole and corner nature in this matter. They have all come in with a clear recognition of this point that in so far as they desire to have a common Indian nation, and we form a great part of that nation, what affects us so closely must be a matter which concerns the Hindus also. This is an All-India question. They are just as committed to our cause as we are ourselves.

The All-India Khilafat Conference formally adopted a manifesto which is really the mandate of the delegation which we comprise, and in this document, which I would ask your permission to quote, is set forth very briefly the whole of our position.

*Mr. Mohammed Ali*—I might mention that before drawing this up, in which Mr. Gandhi took a considerable share, he desired to have before him Mohamedan experts. He had them and he cross-examined them at great length and in great detail, and entirely satisfied himself that these were our religious obligations.

*Sir William Duke* :—I do not quite follow the bearing on the sacred places of Jazirat-ul-Arab. I understand that the principal Holy Places in Mesopotamia are only places of pilgrimage for the Shias who do not recognise the Caliph.

*Mr. Mohammed Ali* :—The Holy Places are held in very great reverence and by all sects. Many Sunni Mohammedans also visit the shrines.

*Sir William Duke* :—The bulk of the pilgrims are Shias. It is not in the same way a necessary pilgrimage to the Sunnis.

#### MR. FISHER'S REPLY.

*Mr. Fisher* :—You have come over a long journey to put your case before the British Government and you apologised for your English, I may say that there is very little need for an apology. You put your case very fully and very clearly, and, if I may say so, very temperately before us. The British Government is of course well aware that it had the valuable assistance of a million Indian soldiers in the recent war, and that many of those soldiers were Muslims by religion, and it is aware of its obligations not

only to the Muslim soldiers who fought for it in the war, but to all its loyal Muslim subjects in India ; and I think you may feel assured that we are anxious to study the religious susceptibilities and sympathies of your fellow believers, and that whatever conclusions may be reached in respect of the international settlement, the settlement of the world's affairs, attention to the Indian aspect of the case will always be given. Indeed it is no secret that the decision which has recently been taken by the Allied and Associated Powers to retain Turkish sovereignty in Constantinople has been to a large extent influenced by the desire of the British Government to meet the religious feelings of its Muslim subjects in India. Still of course you will realise that, while that is an important factor, and a factor which the British Government will never lose sight of, it is not the sole factor which the Ministers responsible to the British Parliament have to take into account in these far reaching and complex transactions. There are other factors as well. Of course, as you, I think, are perfectly well aware, consideration for the position of the subject peoples of the Turkish Empire is one of the elements which has to be taken into account, and I feel that I ought to remind you of the fact that a very painful impression has been created in this country by the news of the recent massacres in Cilicia. I wish to point out to you that the issue is a complex one ; but one to the solution of which the British Government has very steadfast good will to

the Muslim population of India, and you may be assured that what you have said will be duly considered by the Government.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, you have been very careful to avoid anything in the nature of the language of threats, and you have been wise in doing so. Of course, as you realise perfectly well from your large experience of public affairs, the British Government is bound to frame its views on wide considerations of policy, and cannot be deflected one inch from its course by anything in the nature of threats. But at the same time the British Government is bound to give due consideration to any views which may be sincerely felt and honestly expressed by loyal subjects of the Empire.

I very much regret that the Secretary of State has not been able to receive this Deputation. He desired to do so. He is disappointed that he is unable to meet you, but as you are aware, he is unwell at the present moment, and consequently I am taking his place. I hope, that before you return to India you may have an opportunity of meeting the Prime Minister and of laying your views before him. As you know, a conference is taking place at the present time. The Prime Minister is meeting the statesmen of the allied countries in Downing Street, and many important issues are being discussed. Mr. Lloyd George's time is very much occupied, and I cannot promise you that he will be able to see you, but I hope that he may be able to do so.

Gentlemen, I have only one other thing to say, and it is this. As a philosopher once said, history is always a *pis aller*, a choice of second-best. It is founded on compromise. We cannot all get everything that we want, but you may be quite certain that the British Government will never fail in giving due consideration to feelings loyalty and sincerely expressed by subjects of the Empire.

#### MR. MOHAMMED ALI'S FINAL REMARKS.

*Mr. Mohammed Ali:*—May I express the thanks of the Delegation for the reception that you have so cordially given to us. I quite understand,—I think all of us understand even the most illiterate in India,—that our desires and sentiments cannot be the sole factor in a settlement of this kind. But there is one point that has not been entirely appreciated and that we particularly desire to lay stress upon, namely, that there are certain religious obligations that are of such a binding character that they must be our first consideration; and since our loyalty is based on respect for our religious obligations, regard for them must be the first consideration of His Majesty's Government also. It is true that life is one long second best, and that compromise is of the very essence of politics. It is precisely because we recognise this that we have not asked for anything more than the restoration of the '*status quo ante bellum*.' But if a new earth and a new heaven were to be created, as we were at one time led to hope from

the utterance of the statesmen of Allied and Associated Nations, and if therefore, all the territories taken and retained by force were to be restored to their rightful owners, then we would have asked for the return of Egypt, of Tripoli, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of Crete and of the large slices of Turkish territory carved out by the Balkan Allies. It is therefore quite clear that we have already applied the maxim of '*pis aller*' in the region in which it can be applied. But in the domain of faith and religious obligations here can be no compromise. That is a matter to which '*pis aller*' does not apply. There we can only have the best, and the best is just good enough. There the second best is just as bad as the very worst.

With regard to our desire for interviews with the Prime Minister, we recognise his position, and understand how difficult it must be for him to find time, but if I may say so, without disrespect, if M. Venizelos (the Turkophobe Greek Minister) can come so often and have the ear of His Majesty's Government, it will only seem right that representatives of Indian Mussalmans and Indians generally who, as you have acknowledged, Sir, have come from a long distance, should be given a fair hearing and enabled to put their case before His Majesty's Ministers before decisions are taken.

As regards the "Cilician massacres," we believe that the news that has come over here is from very tainted sources. So far as we are concerned we

should like a thorough and impartial inquiry into the whole question of these so-called massacres, and we should court the utmost publicity for the investigation into the offences alleged against the Turks and its results. Let there be a commission sent out to examine the facts and the causes that have brought about a state of affairs that all alike must deplore. So far Greeks Jews and Armenians all have been sending all sorts of roving commissions, and it is the Indian Mussalmans alone that have kept out. They could therefore well ask for a commission of their own being permitted to inquire into these massacres. But, to permit no possibility of a suspicion of partiality, we say that English people as well as Indians should be represented on this commission. Not the highest among us would consider such a task beneath him, and even His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and other Indian Rulers, Ulemas like Maulana Abdul Bari and Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, and leaders of Indian public opinion, both Hindu and Moslem, would gladly welcome such an opportunity to sift the truth. Let there be a thorough investigation, if the Turk be as he is said to be, we will wash our hands off him. We do not wish Islam to be regarded as the supporter of murderers.

There is one thing more that I must ask your permission to refer to. There have been certain statements in the speeches both of the Prime Minister and of the Leader of the House of Commons with reference to the Khalifa, the seat of the Khilafat, and

the Allies' garrisoning of the Straits. We think we can understand that the exigencies of Parliamentary debates, and politics generally, some times drive politicians to attempt to reconcile opposite points of view and satisfy all parties, and to express opinions in a language which they would have preferred not to use, and would not have used in the intimacy of private discussions. But if it really be the case that the Khalifa is to be kept under the guns of the Allied Powers, and is to exist in constant fear even of his own life, his position would be worse than that of the Pope at the Vatican. He would be the Pope at Avignon and even worse than that, for he would be a prisoner of people of alien faith and race. If that is to be the case, we would far rather see him in exile at Bronssa, or even Koniah than in such a plight. The consequences of such an affront to Islam cannot be exaggerated and cannot be endured.

*Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nedri* :—I should just like to add that I am perhaps the first Indian "Maulvi" that has come over to this country. I am not a politician nor is Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib of the famous family of the Ulema of Feringi Mahal, Lucknow, who has particularly asked me to represent him. This ought to convince His Majesty's Government that this is not a political matter to us but a religious matter.

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## THE DEPUTATION TO THE PREMIER

London, March, 17, 1920.

Mr. Mohammed Ali in opening stated that the deputation had come on a religious question. Islam drew no distinction between spiritual and temporal affairs. It has always had two centres, one personal and the other local. The personal centre is the Khalif as successor to the Prophet and repository of traditions. This local centre is Jazirat-Ul-Arab or Islamic Arabia. Islam regards it not as a peninsula, but as an Island, the fourth boundary being the water of Euphrates and Tigris. For the defence of the Faithful the Khilafat must retain adequate Territorial resources, etc., which may be summed up in the result of recent wars that Muslims consider the irreducible minimum of temporal power adequate for the defence of the Faithful to be the restoration of territories on the *status quo ante bellum*. They do not rule out such political changes within the scheme of Turkish sovereignty as would guarantee and secure the autonomy of various Muslim territories consistently with the dignity and secure independence of the State.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Llyod George) asked if this signified opposition after all to the declaration by the British of Emir Feisul as King of Arabia. Mr. Mohammad Ali expressed a hope of reconciling Turco-Arab difference, and of persuading the Emir Feisul that his own ambitions and those of the Arabs

could be entirely satisfied within the scheme of Turkish sovereignty.

Pressed by the Prime Minister to say if he were opposed to the independence of Arabia, he replied in the affirmative. This would not, however, rule out special arrangement for autonomy. Referring to India Mr. Ali explained that consistently with their own desire for autonomous development, they could not think of denying it to Arabs, Jews or Christians within the Turkish Empire. Apart from the question of temporal power, Muhammadans claim that Jazirat-Ul-Arab including as well as the Arabian Peninsula should remain inviolate, and entirely in Moslem control. This is the minimum demanded by the religious obligations absolutely binding to Muhammadans. "It does not specify that it should be under the Khalifa's own control. Religious requirement will be satisfied even if Emir Feisul exercised independent control there." Both this requirement and that of temporal power may easily be satisfied if Jazirat-Ul-Arab remains as before the war, under the direct sovereignty of the Khalifa.

Thirdly, a series of injunctions required the Khalifa to be warden of the three holy places of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, while overwhelming Moslem sentiment required that he should be warden of the holy shrines of Najaf, Kerbela, Kazimain, Samara and Bagdad. Apart from the above religious obligations, Moslems trust that the pledge regarding Constantinople, Thrace, and Asia

Minor, the populations of which are overwhelmingly Moslem, should be redeemed in its entirety. Moslems cannot tolerate any affront to Islam in keeping the Khilafat as a sort of hostage in Constantinople. As regards Thrace, Turkish claims require no further argument than the principle of self-determination. The same principle would entirely rule out the Greek claim to Smyrna.

Turning to the question of massacres, Mr. Ali said that the Indian Khilafat delegation must put on record their utter detestation of such conduct and their full sympathy for the sufferers whether Christians or Muslims, but if the Turks are to be punished, the whole question requires impartial investigation by an international Commission on which the All-India Khilafat Conference should be adequately represented. The Commission should go into the question of the organization of revolutionary societies by Christian subjects of the Sultan, and of provocation offered to the Moslem majority in the region affected.

Pressed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali said that he neither denied the existence of these massacres, nor justified them in the least. He was not in a position to affirm or deny anything. The Prime Minister cited the answer given by the Turkish delegation in Paris admitting the massacres. Mr. Mohammad Ali went on to ask for a thorough enquiry, and added that if it "establishes to the satisfaction of the world that the Turks have really been guilty of those atrocities and horrible crimes,

then we will wash our hands off the Turks. To us it is much more important that not a single stain should remain on the fair name of Islam. We want to convert the world to our way of thinking but with what face can we go before the world and say we are the brethren of murderers and assassins?" He urged that the massacres began only in the last quarter of the last century, after the success of Russian intrigues in the Balkans, etc. In any case, if the Turk is to be punished on the assumption that his rule is a blasting tyranny, the evidence should be absolutely above suspicion. No such evidence at present exists. "Even in to-day's papers," he said, "you read of the horrors perpetrated by these so-called innocent lambs i.e. Armenian Christians." He urged the importance of removing a wrong impression from the minds of millions of Moslems. There should not be the least suspicion that the Turkish question is being dealt with in spirit of the crusaders of Europe. On other points Mr. Ali reiterated what he said in his interview with Mr. Fisher.

#### THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY.

The Prime Minister, after commending the lucidity and moderation of the speakers, said that in Paris great care was taken to consider the case put forward by the official representatives who came from India. The Maharajah of Bikanir and Lord Sinha who themselves formed part of the peace delegation repeatedly brought forward the Muham-

madan case, also delegations were arranged from Muhammadans, some residents of Great Britain, some from India, and at the Prime Minister's request the Supreme Council of the Allies heard the case. He would therefore like Indian Muhammadans to feel that their case had been presented with great care and force, and had been listened to with conscientious care not only by the delegates of the British Empire but also at the request of British delegates by the Supreme Council of the Allies. Secondly, he would like to get out of the mind of every Moslem throughout the Empire that they were treating Turkey on different principles from those applied to the Christian countries. They were at war with three Christian countries and one Muhammadan country. They did not seek war with any of them, nothing was further from their minds at the beginning of the conflict with Germany than that they should have to make war with Turkey. He did not believe that they had ever before made war against Turkey, though they had fought for her many times. He referred to the Crimea and the events of 1878, yet Turkey, when Britain was engaged in the most terrible struggle in her history, suddenly declared war on them. It was vital to them in that struggle to have free access to the Black Sea. Lack of such access prolonged the war at least two years. Turkey suddenly slammed the gates in the face of an old ally who had always stood by her and who had no quarrel with her of any sort or kind at that time. He

did not believe that France had ever before made war with Turkey. She had been on England's side in the Crimea supporting Turkey, yet the same thing happened to France. Therefore no Muhammadan in India should imagine England entered this war against Turkey as a crusade against Islam, nothing was further from their minds. He did not believe that the majority of the Turkish population wanted war with Great Britain. He deeply regretted that the rulers misled their country into fighting against their old Allies and friends. The result was to prolong the war for two years. Now Turkey, like Germany and Austria, had been beaten. Germany and Austria had paid the penalty for defeat. Austria had fallen to pieces. Alsace-Lorraine and Poland had been taken from Germany upon whom very stern and severe terms had been imposed. Both Germany and Austria are Christian countries ; therefore it is no use talking about crusades. "We are" said the Premier, "applying the principle of self-determination to those countries which oppress subject peoples and provoke war to destroy liberty throughout the world." He did not want any Muhammadan in India to imagine that they were applying one principle to Christians and another to Muhammadans, neither did he want any Muhammadan in India to imagine that they were abandoning in the case of the Turks principles which had been ruthlessly applied to Christian countries like Germany and Austria. Continuing, he said :—

"I do not understand Mr. Muhammad Ali to claim indulgence for Turkey. He claims justice, and justice she well get. Austria has had justice, Germany has had justice—pretty terrible justice. Why should Turkey escape? There was no reason why we should be applying any different measures to Turkey from that which we had meted out to the Christian communities of Germany and Austria. We are not treating Turkey severely because she is Muhammadan, we are applying exactly the same principles to her as we have applied to Austria, which is a great Christian community. The principle is that of self-determination applied to Empires that have forfeited their right to rule. The Arabs have claimed independence and severance from Turkish dominion. Is it suggested that the Arabs should remain under Turkish dominion merely because they are Muhammadans? Is not the same measure of independence and freedom to be given to Muhammadans as to Christians?"

Turning to Thrace, the Prime Minister said, it was very difficult to get the facts but he had before him statements of both Turkish and Grecians of Thrace between which there was very little difference. According to both the Muhammadan population is in considerable minority. If that is true and the principles of self-determination is to be applied, the whole of Thrace would certainly be taken from Turkish rule. The same thing applied to Smyrna. After very careful investigation by an

impartial committee it has been found that a considerable majority of the population was non-Turkish and the great majority undoubtedly preferred Greek rule to Turkish rule.

Turning to the question of temporal power, the Prime Minister said that the question of temporal power of a spiritual head was not confined to Islam. It was one of the great controversies of Christendom as well, concerning which there were wide differences of opinion among Roman Catholics and themselves. But after the Pope was deprived of his temporal power, his spiritual power was greater and very likely greater than ever. He knew, he declared, of sincere and zealous Mohammadans who took a very different view of temporal power from that of Mr. Mohammad Ali. He would enter into no controversy. All he would say was the Turk will exercise temporal power in Turkish lands. We do not propose, said the Premier, that he should retain power over lands which are not Turkish. This is the principle we are applying to the Christian communities of Europe and the same principle must be applied to the Turk.

As to the Armenian massacres, there was no doubt about them. It is true that an impartial investigation has not taken place, but that is because the worst massacres of all occurred during the war, and there was no one there to investigate. He had cited the reply of the Turkish delegation in Paris. Their sole answer was that those who were in power

at that time and ordered the massacre of Armenians had also committed crimes against Moslems and condemned to death by every means by three million Mohammadans. That is the answer. It is not a question of punishment but a question of good Government, and whether it is 80,0000 Christians or three Millions Moslems, a Government which cannot protect its own subjects, whether Christian or Moslem, against wholesale massacres of that kind, is not fit to govern. We are therefore bound in the interests of civilization to exercise some kind of control and supervision. It was quite clear that the Turkish Government, as at present constituted, is incapable of protecting its own subjects.

The Prime Minister then referred to the devastation and desolation under Turkish rule of Asia Minor,—once the granary of the Mediterranean. He proceeded: "If the Turk were a capable and efficient administrator who looked after his land well, there is not a Christian community in Europe that would not say, 'God bless you and prosper you,' and we would not dream of interfering, we should be glad to see him work out his own faith in his own land. But I do not think that he has governed in a way which makes Islam proud of him. I will ask you to look at the way in which he has done it. Is Islam really proud of Turkish dominion?"

In conclusion the Prime Minister wished to give comfort to the Mohammadans of India who with very few exception had stood loyal by the Throne and

Empire. There were exceptions even among Christians and he would therefore draw no distinction to the detriment of Indian Mohammadans because there were some among them who were disloyal. He gratefully acknowledged that Mussalmans of India had stood by the Throne and Empire. They helped us in the struggle. We willingly and gladly recognise that. We recognise that they have a right to be heard in a matter which effects especially Islam. We have heard them. Not merely have we heard them but we have very largely deferred to their wishes in this matter. The settlement was very largely affected by the opinion of India and specially the Mussalmans of India. But we cannot apply different principles in the settlement of a Mohammadan country from those which we sternly applied to our settlement with Christians with whom we were also at war.

Mr. Mohammed Ali in reply said that the action of Turkey in entering the war might have been due to alarm caused by the fact that the Czar of Russia, their ancient enemy, was one of the Allies of Great Britain and to the existence of the secret treaty which promised Constantinople to Russia.

To this the Prime Minister replied that he wished to make it absolutely clear that when they entered into war they had no understanding whatever with Russia to the detriment of Turkey so that the Turk had no reason to fear anything from their having engaged in a war on the side of Russia. Our

war, he said, was against Germany and we had not Turkey in our minds in the least.

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### MESSAGE TO THE SULTAN.

Then early in May 1920 just before the final draft of the Allies' Terms of Peace which they wanted to thrust upon Turkey was drawn up and handed over to the Turkish Govt. the delegation sent the following message to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey :—

"The Indian Khilafat Delegation representing over 70 million Mussalmans and 250 million of their compatriots of other creeds who stand shoulder to shoulder with them, have been delegated to explain to the Allied Powers and the Peace Conference the religious obligations imposed on every Muslim by his faith and express the overwhelming national sentiment of India with regard to the preservation of the Khilafat and the inviolability of the Sanctuaries of Islam. The Delegation beg to offer in the name of their co-religionists, at this grave crisis in the history of Islam and of the Khilafat, their whole-hearted allegiance to your Mejesty as the successor of their Prophet and the Commander of the Faithful. Although deeply ashamed that the Mussulmans permitted the Khilafat, however unwillingly it be, to be

reduced to its present distressing condition, we nevertheless venture, with all the profound esteem that we entertain for your Majesty and the great veneration inseparable from your high office, to submit that to-day the eyes of Mussulmans throughout the world are turned towards Stamboul and they confidently trust that in all conceivable circumstances and at all costs your Majesty will uphold the dignity of Islam and will remain steadfast in the defence of the Khilafat and of the sanctity of the Jazi-rat-ul-Arab in its entirety.

#### THE THREE FOLD CLAIM.

"We are charged to claim for the Khilafat the complete restoration of the territorial *status quo ante bellum* without prejudice to such political changes as guaranteed to non-Turkish nationalities, if they so desired, autonomous Government within the Ottoman Empire consistently with the dignity of a Sovereign State, and we are to explain that this was the irreducible minimum of temporal power inalienable from the sacred institution of Khilafat that could be considered adequate for the defence of our faith. We were also charged to declare that the Khalif alone could be the servant of three sacred Harems of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem and the warden of the holy shrines and, further that no Mussulman would, or could, tolerate any form of non-Muslem control whether in the shape of mandate or otherwise over Syria, Palestine or Mesopotamia

included as they are in the sacred soil of the Jazirat-ul-Arab that had been entrusted on his death bed by our Holy Prophet to our sole care. We have tried to explain our three-fold claim to the Allies to the best of our limited powers and, in spite of the appalling ignorance and tragic indifference, even of some of those who are making themselves responsible for a new settlement of the world's affairs, we have made it sufficiently clear that the reduction of the Muslem claim by a hair's breadth will not only be a violation of the deepest religious feelings of the Muslems but will also be a flagrant violation of the solemn pledge given by responsible statesmen, representing the Allied and associated Powers and given at a time when they were desirous of enlisting the support of the Muslem people and soldiery. Further we have not hesitated to warn the British Government that if these pledges were not redeemed and effect was not given to the declaration that brought about the Armistice, it would be futile to expect peace in India and that an affront put upon the entire Indian nation will be incompatible with an expectation of blind loyalty. Having done everything that was demanded of us by our duty as Mussulmans, as loyal subjects of the King Emperor, and as men deeply anxious to secure a just and lasting peace, and charged with a mission of reconciliation and concord, we now await the response of the Allied Powers to our appeals and warning.

But of far greater importance to the Muslem

world will be your Majesty's response to the demands of the Allies and before that response is made we deem it our humble duty to bring to your Majesty's notice that Islam to-day stands solidly by your side as it has never stood since the last of the Khilafat Bashideed passed away. Every Muslim is now determined without flinching and without fear, to do all that Allah demands from him even to the extent of offering his life as the price of his faith. May the great God grant to your Majesty and to your noble and brave, but distracted and divided, nation the strength and resolution to do your duty not only by Turkey but by Islam, and may the unity of Turkey soon become a true reflex of the unity of Islam.

The Indian Khilafat Delegation finally beg leave to recall what our glorious Prophet said in the cave of Thaur to your Majesty's first predecessor Abu Baker, when they were only two and their enemies were many :— "Fear not ; verily Allah is with us." God grant we shall yet succeed if only we retain our faith in Allah's omnipotence and serve none but Him.

#### MR. MOHAMMAD ALI IN PARIS.

By far the most important and successful of Mr. Mohammad Ali's overseas campaign, however, was in France where late in June 1920 the Committee of *La France et Islam* organised in Salle Wagram, the

biggest hall in Paris, an overcrowded meeting in honour of the Indian Khilafat Delegation, presided over by M. De Monzie formerly Minister, Mercantile Marine, of the French Govt. In the course of his speech which was received with remarkable cordiality and applause, Mr. Mohammad Ali said :— “Before I make a statement with regard to our case I should like to address just a few words to any Armenian gentlemen that may be in this assembly. I ask them to take it from me that nobody in the hall could have greater sympathy with the Armenians than the Indian has. The reason is very simple. My compatriots here have tasted the bitter cup of subjection. Having tasted that bitter cup and having found it worm wood and gall, they do not want the Armenians to taste that cup any longer than myself. But let us face the situation as it is to-day. For centuries the Armenians lived at peace with the Turks. Then the sinister figure of *Tsarist* Russia came on the scene and poor Armenians were made to fight the battles not of Armenia but of the *Tsarist* Russia. Now that *Tsarist* Russia has gone, those who have inherited the traditions of that tyrannical empire are once more making tools of the Armenians. Immediately after the armistice a tremendous propaganda was started in favour of Armenia. This has been going on for more than a year, but the hands that were held up in horror at the Armenian massacres were dripping with the blood of the Turks shed in Smyrna.

"To-day in this wretched treaty of peace that I have in my hand for every place they have found a mandatory. The Greeks can go to Smyrna and Thrace, England to Mesopotamia and Palestine but poor Armenians, you have no oil, you have no cotton, you have only massacres. (Cheers) Therefore what happens to you this: You are left once more to God who had apparently entrusted you to the care of these Christian mandatories. (Cheers, laughter.) I tell the Armenians you can purchase your peace with the Turks on far better terms than you can purchase it from those friends of yours. (Cheers.) You would certainly not be treated as a foundling found every morning at a fresh door. If you do not want to live with the Turks any more let the Turks and you have the adjustment of territories between the new Republic of Erivan and Turkish Armenia and let such Christians of Turkish Armenia as like to go over to Eriven go over to that side." Then referring to the Greek move against Turkey, he said :—

#### ISLAM MEANS PEACE.

"I am a man of peace ; the world wants peace (cheers). Islam means peace. But if the Greeks will have war, then they will have war. (Loud cheers.) But it is no good merely to cheer here or in England. Yes, if the Greeks are victorious it is all very well, but when they are beaten to their knees (cheers).

as I hope they will be before long, not because they are Greeks, but because they are unjust (cheers), then they will appeal to you, to France, and to England in the name of Christianity which they themselves have trampled under foot. I am not a Turk. I belong to a people who fought for you and England and I think we did a little to save both you and England. Now it is not the Turk who is speaking to you. I have come here because my religion compelled me to come here and my compatriots of other faiths have carefully examined and found that it is the part of my faith and that I cannot compromise on this and they have pledged their word to me that they will not compromise either (assent from Mr. Bomanji and other Parsees and Hindoos.) But if there is any shameless Turk in this assembly or at Versailles or in Constantinople or even in the camp of Mustapha Kemal, who is prepared to sign this treaty, then I tell him as we have told Mr. Lloyd George and the Viceroy of India, we at least will not accept this treaty. (Cheers.) In that treaty there is Article 139, which does not mention our religion. Secret diplomats never do that kind of thing. (Laughter.) It merely demands from Turkey the renunciation of all title and jurisdiction over the Mussulmans who are subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of any other power, i.e., us, also our friends the Egyptians.

"If they will accept protection (the Egyptians

present shouted "never, never")—You say never, we also say never. (Cheers.)

#### NEW KING FOR OLD LAND.

"Then there is Article 132. There are Articles : 96, 97, 98. These demand that the Turks should renounce in favour of principal Allied Powers—they might as well have said one principal Allied Power (laughter), which would be far more truthful—all rights and titles in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia on whatever ground, religious otherwise, and in the Hedjaz in favour of that new king of an old land where the Mussulmans recognise only one God to be the King. The great King of the Hedjaz is to exercise all rights of the Khalifat but how is he to live? 54,000 pounds per month are being paid by these friends of England in order presumably to retain their friendship for England. (Cheers). I blame the Turks for many things and particularly for not having succeeded in retaining the friendship of the Arabs, but I can say this much for the Turks that they have given and rightly given more money to this desert Kingdom of the Hedjaz than they ever got out of it (Cheers). And how long does our friend the King of the Hedjaz hope to get this money from the British treasury? There is no chance of Mr. Lloyd George going to the Hedjaz on pilgrimage. (Laughter.) He will still have to depend for his income on poor Indian pilgrims who come from other

parts of the world, but will they undertake to maintain in that holiest of holy lands such a King of the Hejdaz (Cheers). At any rate I have told the envoy of Emir Feisul, if the Arabs agreed to any such mandate in the holy places, we would not agree to it. (Cheers). And be it said to their credit the Arab Delegation told us: "It is not our property to give or to remain. It is a common heritage of Islam."

After further explanations on the position of Indian Moslems in the Turkish question, he concluded :—

"Now ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you much longer. I will only say this to you: If you look at this question from our religious point of view, this treaty is unacceptable to us and remember there are more than 300 millions Mussulmans in the world, in India, Turkey, Algeria, Morocco, Asia Minor, Egypt, Central Asia whose religious obligations are being disregarded in this treaty. Again, there are distinct pledges which had been given to us which have got to be respected by you and by England. If they are disregarded to-day, remember you who are a banking nation—and the bourgeoisie is very well represented here to-night (laughter)—that a dishonoured cheque is not accepted twice (Cheers). We ask for no gratitude for anything that we may have done for France or England but I say this to you that if the Indian soldiers knew that after their defence of France and of England and after victories in Mesopotamia, Palestine, not British

victories but Indian victories (cheers), if they had known that this would be the kind of the treaty that would result from their victories, they would not have come to your aid in those dark hours of October 1914"!!

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#### "SAVE US FROM OUR FRIENDS"

(By MOHAMMAD ALI).

I am afraid from our repeated experiences in the past it appears to me that England is preparing a case for fighting against the Turks, now that its pet, Greece, has had sufficient hammering from the Turks in Anatolia and has no hope left of crushing the Turks unaided and it is this fear that makes me regret all the more the intervention of Mr. Hasan Imam. He appeared to me to be unduly reticent so far as the public was concerned when he landed at Bombay last April. His excuse at the time was that he regarded the matter still as a subject of negotiations, and since he was not a delegate of people but a nominee of the Government chosen to explain the Muslem attitude on the subject of the Turkish Treaty, the people were not entitled to demand from him an account of his work in England or even a review of the situation from his personal point of view. But he is no longer reticent and, if he is consistent, we can only conclude that no further

negotiation is possible, and that his own interview given to the Associated Press as well as the despatches of those stormy petrels, the correspondents of English newspapers in Turkey, are but a prelude to the fresh outbreak of hostilities between England and Turkey. No news, as the Muslems have learnt from the experience of the last few years, is always good news; which means that the Greek winnings which commenced with such *eclat* is now over, and the Turks are now about to begin their's, which makes their British backers far from comfortable.

#### THE PRISONER OF THE BOSPHORUS.

At first the Nationalists together with their brilliant and brave leader, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha were "rebels" and as is customary with England, she did not wish to "parley with the rebels." The puppet government at the head of which was the Prisoner of the Bosphorus, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Khalifat of Islam had been made to sign through a few graceless myrmidons of 10, Downing Street, a treaty at Sevres on 10th August last. What more was there to be done but for Mr. Lloyd George to ask the Indian Khilafat Delegation to announce an equally abject surrender? And this was the only reply-given more than a month later to a detailed and clear representation of the 10th July that we had addressed to him and to the other Allied representatives at Spa. To this we gave the only reply that those who stood up for Mussalmans

and for Islam could give, *viz.*, the dictum of our Prophet that "no obedience is due to a creature of God which involves disobedience towards the Creator" with which our Spa representation had closed.

As for the Turks their reply was given in characteristic fashion. The Prime Minister acknowledged, in his interview with the Indian Muslems for whom Mr. Hasan Imam was the spokesman on the 12th March "the Turks can fight well if he cannot talk". Glorious as has been Turkish tradition with regard to fighaing, I do not think that they ever fought so well as they have done in Anatolia with greatly attenuated resources and literally with their backs to the wall.

In a long despatch that I sent to the "Bombay Chronicle" from Paris a year ago almost to a day, I prophesied—and really it did not require much perspicacity to venture to play the role of a prophet that if within a few weeks the Greeks did not take Eskishahr and Afium-Hissar in order to make further resistance impossible, they would give up the job in despair and would even wreck their revenge on those who had deceived them with the vision of a grand and withal a cheap success. I had then indicated that in his own country Venizelos was seated none too firmly on the saddle, and was enabled to carry on only with the help of Great Britain by filling prisons with the political adversaries. He had

staked his all on this Turkish adventure and whatever support he received in his own country was in the main due to the hopes he had created of re-establishing a Greek Empire with the help of Great Britain. If a victory could not be purchased at the low price indicated in his glowing prospectus the bubble would burst, and the first to go with it would be Venizelos the would-be reviver of the Byzantine Empire. My prophecy came (true sooner than I had anticipated) and its fulfilment was almost literal.

#### BRITAIN'S REAL ROLE.

Venizelos from that moment disappears from the scene and one would have thought that the return of King Constantine—the contemptible “Tino” of the Allied Press—a complete reversal of the Turkish Treaty would immediately commence. We have seen how, in spite of the most categorical denials, it was proved to the hilt that this would have been the case if only Italy and France were the Allies. But this was reckoning without the host. Indian Mussalmans whose loyalty to the British Government was a by-word, and had in fact been made a reproach to them by sister communities in India had since the Tripolitan War learnt by bitter experience time after time that England was now a bitter enemy of Turkey, and every day made it more and more clear that she was the most implacable enemy of Turkey leaving perhaps Czarist Russia. Therefore, in my presi-

dential Address at the Lucknow Khilafat Conference at the end of last February, I did no more than voice Muslem feeling in giving expression to my fears that while some Indian Mussalmans were on their way to England in the mistaken belief that they had been invited to take part in the London Conference, negotiations were perhaps going on behind the scene for urging even "contemptible Tino" to put on the mantle of Venizelos and claim the heritage of the Ottoman Turks in the old Byzantine Empire as the price of recognition by the Allies including France, through the good offices of Great Britain. The London Conference was not only a hoax for the Indian Mussalmans, who found that the banquet was over even before these invited guests had arrived, but was a cruel farce for the Nationalist Turks as well. In the few hurried meetings of the Conference one unsatisfactory proposal was put forward after another only to be withdrawn in equal haste. To take only one instance, the Allied proposal of a Commission to inquire into the statistics of population in Thrace which the Turks so readily accepted, was withdrawn for no better reason than its rejection by the Greeks. This proposal I might mention, had been put forward by us in our representation of the last July addressed to Mr. Lloyd George at Spain in these words :—

"If to-day, when the Turks are threatened with war, and there is danger of Great Britain acquiring, in your own words a fatal reputation of finding un-

answerable reasons when the time comes for breaking its faith, the least that Mussalmans are entitled to is a plebiscite to be taken in Thrace. But it should be taken under conditions leaving no possibility of doubt about its fairness and the absence of all compulsions, and we urge that the agency for taking such a plebiscite should include representatives of the All-India Khilafat Conference "

#### FAVOURING THE GREEKS.

This suggestion went entirely unheeded at the time ; but it is now clear that even in last February when the Allies adopted it as their own, though of course in a form not half so fair as we had suggested, it was never intended that effect should be given to it. The policy of the British was to say to the world, "We have done our best to put an end to all fighting. We have brought the Greeks and Turks together and have also brought Angora and Constantinople to the same Round Table for a Conference. It is true that somehow Turk and Turk seem to have made up their differences, but the Turks and the Greek, have not. In the circumstances what more can the poor Allies do but to let these silly people fight it out between them while the Powers keep the ring?"

But it is manifest that even this benevolent policy of concluding peace by prolonging war was the result of a careful calculation that the Turks would come out second best in this struggling. The recognition of the "rebels" as a Government even

though merely, a *de facto* one was intended to be short-lived. But Mustafa Kemal has once more upset the best-laid schemes of mice and men, England has not been a disinterested spectator even if she has been no worse. The very gentleman who had made Mr. Hasan Imam their spokesman in their interview with the Prime Minister, had openly questioned the neutrality of England when she professed to be merely the umpire while Greek and Turkish claims were being put to the arbitrament of the sword. It is true that British denials were easily forthcoming and they were characteristically categorical. But British denials, no matter how categorical, have long ceased to carry any more convictions to those for whom they were mainly intended than British pledges and solemn undertakings. However for our present purpose it would suffice if I declare that nobody ever believed that Great Britain was a disinterested spectator in this cruel game. British spies were at work in Anatolia as the execution of Mustapha Saghir only too clearly proves. This compatriot of mine is perhaps not entirely unknown to me and for all that I know he may be the same person who wrote to me in London from Geneva asking me to have him employed as the Constantinople correspondent of some Moslem Indian newspaper, and subsequently addressed to me an Open Letter printed with a Red Crescent asking for financial assistance of Constantinople just when we were endeavouring to secure the

assistance of Mr. Montagu to send a mission of relief to the refugees from Smyrna. If it is the same person that was now exploiting in the expressive phrase of the recent cable the prestige of Indian Muslems in Angora, I am glad I was no party to his exploitation of the prestige of Indian Muslems in Constantinople.

#### SYSTEMATIC MISREPRESENTATION.

But to revert to the activities of the British it was not only in Angora that efforts were being made to improve the position of Great Britain. It was only recently that I learnt of a similar process of exploitation of prestige going on in India by the lavish distribution of leaflets intended to show that Bekir Sami Bey entirely approved of the trivial modifications now proposed by Great Britain in the Treaty of Sevres and that Indian Mussalmans were more Turkish than the Turks themselves inasmuch as they did not share Bekir Sami Bey's hopes of "brilliant peace" as the result of recent British "generosity." This is the Government that according to Mr. Hasan Imam, has been doing its best to help Indian Mussalmans in the matter of the Khilafat! Really one is sorry for people whose best is so unutterably bad and can hardly guess what their worst could be. But one can only be thankful that neither in India nor in Anatolia has this exploitation of other people's prestige succeeded.

### WHAT INDIAN MUSSALMANS WANT.

Indian Mussalmans await with growing impatience some more substantial and relevant result of the new Viceroy's recently acquired knowledge of Mahatma Gandhi than the not of triumph and exultation in his misinterpretation of my statement and my brother's ; while the Turks in Anatolia must naturally be expecting that the Umpire who professed to keep the ring for the combatants would now award to the victor the fruits of victory even though he happened to be the Turk and not the Greek, the favourite of Great Britain. I wonder whether Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith would feel overjoyed if some one discovered even to-day, a family likeness between these two quondam friends and colleagues on the Liberal Treasury Bench. But the likeness is unmistakeable, for both deny with equal Liberalism the fruits of victory to the victor when that victor happens to be the Turk, Tails they lose and heads they must not win. When the Aga Khan in the course of the Indian Muslems' first interview suggested to the Prime Minister "If the great Powers will leave us alone we would raise troops very easily to get Greek troops out of territories they had occupied"—the first statement of that elusive personality in all these years in which he spoke what Indian Mussalmans have for long been feeling and feel to-day more intensively than ever,—the Prime Minister who was a picture of strict and

impartial neutrality that could well have been hung in the central hall of the League of Nations said "If you could localise the conflict and then let the Turks and the Greek fight it out, it would not matter so much. The real danger is that Islam will back one party and the Christians the other and that would be fatal for the peace of the world. If it was fought there I would not mind ; the Turks can fight well if he cannot talk, and I would rather leave it to them to fight it out." And when the Aga Khan interposed the questions : "And you would not let us go in?" the Prime Minister could only shake his head and repeat what he had said with fatal facility : "It would be fatal." "It would be fatal."

Well, while Indian Mussalmans have not been permitted even to talk thanks to Section 144 Cr. P. C. the Turks have fought and they have fought well. Islam has not been permitted to back one party ; but Christians like Mr. Lloyd George are now intent upon backing the other, entirely forgetting how "fatal" that would be for the peace of the world.

#### PRAISE FOR ALL AND SUNDRY.

The only conclusion we can reach is that if this is to be the first fruit of the Reading regime in India, we might just as well have had my Lord Chelmsford, ruling us at Simla ; and so much as Mr. Hassan Imam's interview goes, it could have been no great calamity, Mr. Hassan Imam has praised Lord Chelmsford's colleagues and if he has singled out

anyone, specially from that gallery of the benefactors of Indian Muslems, it is Sir William Vincent, the Home Member. He has praised Mr. Montagu, which is not so astonishing, for all praise the suave but sterile Secretary of the State for India, though none can discover what precise Muslim gain he could place to the credit of that benevolent, if not benificent Minister. But that is not all. He praises Lord Reading, with whom his acquaintance is obviously very short and finally he praises the Prime Minister himself. Really God is in his hill-top Heaven and everything is alright with the world of a subject race. I am myself an optimist and feel sure that before the year is out we shall attain all that we ask for which is more than Mr. Hassan Imam can promise us. But I cannot pretend to imagine that we would reach our goal before many a weary march has left us foot-sore, and many a sad disappointment has compelled the tired wayfarers to make a pause and sit dispairingly by the wayside sorely tempted to resolve for very lack of resolution to give up the goal of long cherished desire. Mr. Hassan Imam is optimistic and yet not optimistic enough. He is not optimistic enough to expect complete success. In fact one cannot extract much comfort out of the interview he has given for those who have set their heart upon success. His optimism is rather the result of a pair of rosy spectacles through which he sees a world of Prime Ministers, past and present Viceroys, Executive Councilors and particularly Home Members

each doing his best although accomplishing nothing and an underworld of humbler beings pervaded by peace and contentment in which those who have failed to reach the goal of success that deserved so well, are nevertheless been blessed by a compensating Providence with a sense of satisfaction that their failure was not through any fault of Prime Ministers or Viceroy, Home Members and other such exalted functionaries.

#### MR. HASSAN IMAM'S ADVOCACY.

Mr. Hassan Imam had not taken any conspicuous part in the Khilafat movement before the choice of Government fell upon him, and he was requested by it to proceed to England to represent the views of Indian Mussalmans. Many felt dissatisfaction but no responsible Khilafat worker cavilled at his acceptance of the Government's invitation and most of the principal workers sent him off with their blessings. Like the good advocate that he is, he soon familiarised himself with his brief, and no one can deny that in the first interview with the Prime Minister, his advocacy of Indian Muslim views gave promises of great things. His speeches in London soon after were in fulfilment of that promise and were universally appreciated and admired. Those who expected the Prime Minister to damn such advocacy with faint praises were agreeably disappointed in the lavishness of the praise. But I feel certain that I am doing no injustice to Mr.

Hassan Imam in saying that his latest interview has been a sore disappointment even to those who unlike myself and many of our principal co-workers had few expectations from Mr. Hassan Imam. In his first interview with the Prime Minister he repeated the arguments and conclusions of Indian Mussalmans to the Prime Minister, but in the interview he has now accorded in out-of-the-way Monghyr to the Associated Press, he repeats to Indian Mussalmans the arguments and conclusions with which Mr. Lloyd George sought to confound Mr. Hassan Imam and his colleagues in the second interview accorded to them. Take the case of Thrace. After his usual jugglery with regard to the figures of population according to races and religions, Mr. Lloyd George said that, even if it was internationalised, they would needs troops there ; and added that England had not sufficient concern in it to keep a division of troops with all the cost and anxiety it involved." France he continued, had not ; Italy had not ; America cerainly had not. It is not worth it. We have too many other responsibilities in the world. It is a part of the world where we would infinitely prefer to leave alone if we could. It is not on our best."

#### OLD COMFORT FROM MR. IMAM.

Mr. Hasan Imam offers equally cold comfort when he says : "Thrace is now in the occupation of the Greeks, and they would not clear unless driven out. Great Britain, I do not think, would

undertake another war in the present unsettled condition. France equally, however friendly her intentions to the Turks, has too many of her own worries to permit her to go to Thrace to drive the Greeks out." In the name of all that is not cant passing under the name of sweet reasonableness, what is this if not an echo from 10, Downing Street. It is but a paraphrase of Mr. George's dictum, illustrative of his solicitude for "small nations" "It is not on our beat" And how reminiscent of that other dictum, illustrative of similar solicitude for Eastern and Islamic nations that emanated from Printing House Square. "Persia is not worth the bones of a single British Grenadier." Let us not, however forget that all the meteorological signs indicate that Anatolia is on Mr. George's "beat" when Greece happens to get beaten there. I only ask if it is not true that Mr. Hassan Imam himself had, while in London proved to the hilt that, apart from the question of justice to the predominant portion of the population of Thrace which was Muslim, Constantinople could not exist as a predominantly Muslim city and the seat of Khilafat, if Thrace was to be retained by the Greeks. Will he now be content with singing the praises of Downing Street and Simla if Thrace becomes Greek?

The case of Smyrna of which even more indubitably the rightful owner is the Turk, has been dismissed by him in a single line. "The position

is the same with regard to Smyrna" which is not what even Mr. Lloyd George would have said.

The *Times* which was in too great a hurry to wait for our answer, had tauntingly asked our Delegation and the Indian Mussalmans generally, whether they seriously proposed, that Turkish rule should be reimposed on the Arabs with the help of British bayonets. For our part the only need we could suggest for British bayonets is to cast them into the sea in the hope that, unlike bread cast on the water they would not return even "after many days". But if a drier habitant is required for them it should be sought in the British Isles themselves. All that we asked in the case of the Island of Arabia was that the Allies, preferably led by England, should forthwith evacuate it and leave the Mussalmans to settle their domestic religious question. Really and truly nothing in that Holy Land would become them so well as the leaving of it.

#### CASE OF THRACE AND SMYRNA.

In the case of Thrace and Smyrna their responsibility is even greater than in the case of the Island of Arabia, for the Arabs, even though only after having been goaded on by them, had become belligerents in the war fought on the British side against the Turks and they fought for their own land and not for others. But Greece was not even

a belligerent throughout the war, and it was not Greek territory that had to be freed from the Turkish yoke. It was the Allies themselves that sent Greek troops into Turkish Thrace<sup>1</sup> and it was the Allies again who sent them into Turkish Smyrna with this difference, however, that this time the responsibility was mainly British. If one examines the cold-blooded enunciation of the latest Georgian doctrine of eviction, he would be shocked at the light-heartedness of these men, the Big Three and the Big Four. The Muslims of Smyrna,—men, women and children were unconcernedly exposed to the brutality and lust of foreigners who had no right or title to their hearths and homes more because one of these Big Three who pose as Peace-Makers in the world's and the Keepers of the world's Conscience had himself begun to take wrongful possession of Smyrna, not only without any pretence of right or title but also without so much as "By your leave" to the other Big Two. But since Greece was their Agent executing their decree, it is their duty to drive it out too, if they are satisfied and Mr. Hassan Imam's own advocacy must have satisfied them—that it is wrongful possession there. What would Mr. Hassan Imam think of a Court of Law that gave judgment in favour of the rightful owner of a house or estate in revision of a previous judgment against him, but thereafter refused to help the party, adjudged owner of that house or state in turning out of it the bailiff it had itself sent to attach it?

### DUTY OF THE ALLIES.

However, I feel confident that all the Supreme Court of the Allies has got to do is to let the owner know that he can resume possession, and to cease thereafter reinforcing the bailiff with its own armed police. The Greek have entirely failed to make any impression on the Turks in Anatolia even with such neutrality as Great Britain observed and if only British Indian spies would desist from exploiting the prestige of other Muslim compatriots in Anatolia, and not persuade Great Britain by the manner of their final exit to seek an entry once more into that difficult and more inclement region, it will not be long before the last Greek hero is ignominiously thrown into the Gulf of Smyrna. A similarly result would be achieved in Thrace in a few weeks when the heroes of Angora carry on the Government at Constantinople also and we must not forget the Albanians who are only awaiting an opportunity to swoop down on the Greeks in Epirus. The difficulty is not with regard to the bailiff Lloyd George that no Mussalman could disregard the last injunction of his glorious ancestor with regard to the Island of Arabia without giving up all title to the name of Muslim here and all hope of his salvation hereafter.

### REAL AIMS OF BRITISH POLICY.

These whom Mr. Hassan Imam has consulted before he set out for England had impressed upon

him the fact that however much England might like to hurt Turkey and Islam by depriving the Turks altruistically through Greeks and Christian, Armenians of Thrace, Smyrna and Armenia and permitting France to come out second best with the damnable hereditas of Syria, it was Palestine and a footing in Mesopotamia for herself that England chiefly desired. He had been warned that the role of almoner distributing the largesse to humble clients like Greece or of a good comrade sharing the lot with France, was only a cloak for a much less altruistic ambition—the ambition to pose before the world as the final victor in "the last and most triumphant of the crusades" the ambition to retain India and her neighbours in perpetual thraldom and to that end control both banks of the Suez Canal, the Asiatic as well as the African, and particularly, the Asiatic when future control of the African bank appeared doubtful ; and, finally the ambition to tap oil in Mosul ; and to ship it, at the end of a pipe line 700 miles long in the Mediterranean which she now almost exclusively controlled from Malta, at the port of Haifa in order to maintain the largest navy in the world and through it control India and the rest of a mammoth Overseas Empire. And yet it was not at these unholy ambitions that Mr. Hassan Imam aimed his hardest blows in London. If Mr. Lloyd George had had his own way, Mr. Hassan Imam would not have been able to say as much as he did even with regard to Thrace and Smyrna. He

would have been left in the lurch after Mr. Lloyd George had lent "a most sympathetic ear" to long disquisitions in suggesting trivial modifications in the impossible financial clauses of the Sevres Treaty, for the very good reason that it was not England so much as its good neighbour and dear comrade France that was interested therein.

#### SHAREERS OF VICTORY.

It is true that Mr. Hasan Imam enlightened Mr. Lloyd George to some extent with regard to Indian Muslim demands concerning the Arabic speaking part of Turkey, and made fairly effective use of what Amir Feisul had told him regarding his own and the Arab's dislike of the mandates. But it was not sufficient here even to say that "they were not there as suppliants for favour but as persons who had a share in the achievement of victory," "as co-victors with them" who had given their men and their money and were shares to the fullest degree "in the credit that victory brings to the victor." Mr. Hassan Imam could not certainly have spoken for any considerable number of Mussalmans in India, when he said that they had given to the British Nation "their blessings" also. For to my knowledge, no Musalman was so debased as to offer his blessing to an enterprise so accursed from the Muslim point of view as a war waged against the Khilafat and a war waged in Islam's "Holy Land" even though he may have considered it the better party of valour to

contribute to a war loan, to purchase or persuade a few recruits. In the case of the Holy Land of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, to protect which from the pollution of non-Muslim control, Mr. Hasan Imam's great and glorious ancestor had spent his last breath, victory not credit but discredit of the worst character. Nevertheless "Mr. Hassan Imam had an even better *locus standi*" than of co-victor. An Indian Musalman can remain within the Empire only if his religious obligations are respected ; and one cannot imagine a greater obligation imposed by Islam than the maintenance of the Khilafat with requisite power and prestige and the safeguarding of the sanctity of the Jazirat-ul-Arab which includes both Palestine and Mesopotamia. If England chose to exercise the least control over these regions she must know that *ipso facto* she made her choice at the same time of releasing every Musalman from his allegiance to the British Crown.

Mr. Hassan Imam knows as well as I do, what Sir Henry MacMahon promised to the Arabs on behalf of Great Britain when he induced them to fight against their Sovereign and, what is worse, against the Commander of the Faithful and Successor of the Prophet.

#### THE PREMIER'S SOLUTION.

And yet when Mr. Lloyd George now found it convenient to talk of "tribes" who "were in constant trouble" with each other, and of "people who has

not for hundreds of years had control over these States," and "who owe no allegiance to each other," Mr. Hassan Imam could only support his argument by weekly interposing that some of these tribes were "nomadic." Mr. Lloyd George had conveniently enough forgotten that when he promised them an Arab Empire as the price of their fight against the Turks, of freedom, these tribes would be at each other's throat the moment Turkish rule was withdrawn. But now that it is Mr. Lloyd George who has to withdraw not the Turks who had maintained peace and order among these turbulent and nomadic tribes for countries without driving them to the degree of despair to which British rule had driven them in less than as many years. He recollects these habits of theirs. And what is his solution? The disintegration of the Arab Empire of his vision and promises to the Arabs into petty principalities more or less effectively under British control ; and if nominally some tribes recognised some Arab chief Mr. Lloyd George thinks he would be the last man in the world to ask him to clear out, meaning no doubt, that he would be the last man that Mr. Lloyd George would "recommend" to the suffrage of the tribes. Such a man as the tribes would "self-determine" to rule over them would want British support which means British cash, and would obtain it as the price of British domination. This is what Mr. Lloyd George said in reply to Mr. Hassan Imam, and, as in the case of Thrace and Smyrna. Mr. Hassan Imam

now echoes the selfsame views and practically repeats the very words of Mr. Lloyd George with regard to Mesopotamia, Palestine and the rest of Arabia. Palestine is sacred to the Jews, Christians and Musalmans alike, reminds Mr. Hassan Imam, just as Mr. Lloyd George had reminded him, as if any Musalman could have been ignorant of it and as if for that reason, if for no other, Palestine must remain in hands who "believe in all Prophets and make no distinction among them."

#### THE JEW—A CAT'S PAW.

The poor persecuted Jews are now to be made the cat's paw of Christendom when every schoolboy knows that it is not for Jews that Musalmans are being deprived of Jerusalem, but for good Christians like Mr. Lloyd George. And yet not one word of condemnation, not one word of protest escapes Mr. Hassan Imam's lips. If the peace after the war involves a distinct religious question the return of Jerusalem to the Jews even though nominally, in spite of Lord Hardinge's pledges does. All that we can gather is that when all concerned have been sufficiently white-washed by Mr. Hassan Imam's broad paint brush, the only one apparently on whom responsibility could be saddled would be—poor Emir Feisul unless indeed it happened to be the Indian Musalmans, who had trusted in the word of the British. As for Emir Feisul, he is getting what he deserves and even Mr. Hassan Imam does not

spare him when he spares everybody else. But for the Indian Musalmans I have no hesitation in declaring that in the words of Mr. Hassan Imam, if he happened to occupy a position of judicial responsibility, would sentence them to transportation for life or even to death in the name of Law and Order because they preferred death to dishonour and had greater respect for God's Law as given to us by his own ancestor than for the Law of Man.

#### CRITICAL TIMES.

The next few weeks will be weeks big with fate, for Islam, for India and for the British nation, and it is for men like Lord Reading to decide whether the British Empire or rather the British Commonwealth would live as well as Islam. Islam is not going to die out whether the British Empire dies or not, and Indian Mussalman will neither spare themselves nor others when the choice lies between the continuance of Islam or of the British Empire. We will save Islam through non-violence if we can ; and we have every hope that we shall. But if we cannot save it that way, we will save it through such force as God in His Graciousness has granted to us. I am the last person to magnify our strength in war or to minimise our strength in peace. But I certainly hold that while you cannot exaggerate the strength of India in peace, you can and may do under-rate her strength in war.

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## TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

NONE SHALL PREVAIL BUT GOD."

DEAR BAPU.

Naturally I have long been thinking writing to you, but for one reason or another I put it off from day to-day. However, when I read in the papers more than one reference from your pen to my wife's action after my arrest at Waltair and to her subsequent activities, I felt impelled to write to you, if only a line,—a thing so difficult for me as you have publicly admitted! just to tell you how deeply you had touched me. As I have told once perhaps, our was a "love-marriage" from the very first, which is somewhat uncommon in India ; but even apart from that every year of our married life made my wife a dearer partner to me than she was before, and the way she took the last few eventful years of internment and incarceration and of the "risks" we have been running since our released at the end of 1919, endeared her to me more than ever. But to tell you the truth she was never half so dear to me as I found her at Waltair when she stepped into the little Railway Police station, and jauntily asking me not to worry about her or the girls, bade me good bye and marched off steadily to the train—all within a minute or two. Well, I have read more than one-reference in your writings to my own self or to "the Brothers"—all too complimentary and I am too "natural!" to deny that every such reference

gave me pleasure and quickened my pulse. More than once I have read a "defence" or an "apology" from your pen when you stood up for us against some critic's onslaught and cheered us up at a time when we were tempted to be not a little irascible. But nothing you have yet written in praise or in defence of us has gladdened my heart so much as your repeated reference to my dear brave wife! Indeed I have been so deeply touched that I am even inclined to forgive you and not be jealous you for the seductive praise you have showered on her! So there ; I only hope this very trying trial will now soon be over and she will be free once more to continue her work and earn more seductive praise from you.

By the way, I wonder if you ever saw my letter to Tairsee in which I gave him some idea of the Magisterial inquiry. You who know how vilely even the *Chronicle* reported my speeches can perhaps understand how risky it is to form one's opinion about affairs and incidents "reported" by "journalists innocent of all knowledge of stenography and so interested in hearing and seeing things when they become unusually lively as to ignore altogether the duty of noting them down for the paper they represent. When I was not in a prison, I had not enough time at my disposal, nor enough patience to go about correcting *every day* the inaccuracies in the reports of my speeches. Now that prison life gives me more leisure and preparation for a con-

vict's life necessitates the cultivation of greater patience, I am not as free as I used to be leave such inaccuracies uncorrected. But surely that is no reason for people to place implicit reliance in the printed word. When I read the meagre and inaccurate and wholly misleading reports of the court proceedings of the fourth day, I felt that we would be misjudged by some people at least, and as I was referring in my letter to Tairsee to the awful topsy-turvydom of the *Chronicle* which misplaced paragraphs and sentences by the dozen in the report of my statement, I also took the opportunity of mentioning some of the circumstances which led to the "defiance of the Court. But really we were not "out for mischief". For three days the proceedings went on smoothly and the Court could not accuse us of "defiance" any more than the Counsel for the Crown could accuse us of "defence." But the trouble began with Maulana Husain Ahmad Saheb's statement. The Court refused to call a qualified interpreter, and it was this that led Kitchlew to insist on speaking in Urdu when the Magistrate wanted to begin with another of the co-accused for whom the interpreter would not, he said, be needed. On the folowing day the atmosphere was entirely changed though we do not know what led to the change overnight. It was the Court that was "defiant." Kitchlew's statement which was on the same lines as mine was objected to at every fresh sentence and the Magistrate would not take it down. Then he insisted

on asking the Shankaracharya to get up if he wanted to make a statement, which, the Shankaracharya said, he could not do on religious grounds. It was this which compelled me to expostulate with the Magistrate *without any passion*. I asked him whether he would insist on a religious personage of the Sankaracharya's position in the Hindu hierarchy paying respect to the contentions of a law court even if he thereby had to show disregard of what he considered divine law itself. The Magistrate belonged to a community the origin of which in the history of India dated back to a migration from its, own motherland for fear of having to disregard what it considered divine law. He had such a great belief in the respect due to British law court. Had he no belief in God? And all that appears in the papers is the bare interrogatory : "Have you no belief in God?" His reply to my appeal was an order in the worst possible tone to sit down. But while I refused to comply, I never said ; "Let me see what you can do." I said he could use *force* ; but there was no *law* which could compel an accused person to sit down. Poor Shaukat did his best to placate the Magistrate and pleaded with him not to interrupt him while he was making his statement, as it put him while he was making his statement, as it put him off completely. But clearly the Magistrate was determined that nothing like my statement of the previous day should go on record now or be even heard by those co-operators and others who attended his court.

When Maulana Husain Ahmed Saheb began his statement, he neither got it interpreted by the Court interpreter (who had already confessed his incompetence to interpret an exposition of Islamic law) nor made the least effort to understand what he Maulana Saheb was saying. Nothing was taken down. But even this was not enough. His indifference was impudent enough, but he added to that one or two direct insults, such as "It, is not necessary to recite the entire Quran here." Maulana Nisar Ahmed Saheb's very brief statement fared no better. And so indifferent was the Magistrate to every requirement of law and procedure that he committed us to the Sessions *without* having received the remainder of my statement which *at his own request* I had promised to give him in writing if he sent me a shorthand typist. But then the whole thing was meant to be a farce : for on the very second day when even the Prosecution evidence was not half finished, he passed order on the Public Prosecutor's application for summons being issued for two witnesses to the effect that it served no purpose to lengthen proceedings unnecessarily, and it would suffice if these witnesses were sumouned for the Sessions trial. A forgone conclusion even for the Magistrate!! And on the 29th before the inquiry was over, the Judicial Commissioner comes himself to inspect the Hall for the Sessions and discusses the plans with the Public Prosecutor!!! As I said to the Court, they might as well have sent the carpenters

to prepare the scaffold! When any reference was made to Islamic law, the Magistrate was impatient and used to say, "We have nothing to do with *Fatwas* here." Shaukat was so exasperated that he said to him. "What is the use of your asking me about sacrifices? Ask me what Islamic law lays down for such a set of circumstances." But all in vain, and even Shaukat could stand this no longer and d-d "the whole blessed show"! But would you believe that soon after this inquiry was over and the Magistrate retired for a time, he was a new man once more! In the second case against Shaukat and in the next case against me, he was once more the man he had been on the third day. What brought about this second metamorphosis I cannot say. But you can judge of the "normal" atmosphere of the Court (including the accused) from the fact that on the last day the Public prosecutor came hurrying to me and asked, "Will you mind coming back into the court? One of the witness has put in the wrong exhibit and I should like to recall him". I agreed and said, "Anything you please," and when the C.I.D. reporter had swon again that the exhibit he was then putting in was my speech, I pleasantly told the Magistrate I waived my right of demanding the witness's prosecution for perjury for swearing before that quite another document was my speech; and the Magistrate, so we all knew, was always an automaton (and I told him on the eventful day I was

sorry that a fellow-countryman of mine was being used to do a dirty job), but on the day following my statement he came "wound up." Since then, I understand, even those from whom he expected praise for his loyalty and compliance have expressed their indignation at his spoiling a 'historic state trial,' which was intended to typify "justice" under "the New Dispensation" by his disregard of law and procedure. That is why Ross Alston of Allahabad and an Alim are coming to improve the thing as best they can, and a qualified interpreter is coming from Lahore. But the whole thing was a farce and nothing can improve it. For our part we have no desire to be defiant and are not out for mischief. Nevertheless we are not going to be dumb driven cattle, and non-violence does not require that passivity. Violence has much to answer for and many a Musalman will have his eye opened on the day of judgment when the true limits of "violence" are to be defined once more by his own leading case. But non-violence too has a good deal to answer for, and I already see that its apostle is already disillusioning some of its meek votaries who would cover cowardice with that label.

And good bye now. Love to Devidas and the little ones and affectionate salams to Ba.

The cheque must have been sent to the Khilafat fund. Mother and my wife do not need any financial assistance, but we are such awful beggars that we

will swallow everything for our cause. Our affectionate greetings to your own great and dear self.

JAIL, KARACHI,

18th October, 1921..

Yours ever  
MAHOMED ALI.

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My dear mother,—

At about 4 A.M. on the 10th instant, the Waltair jailor coming up to me asked me to get up and submit myself to his custody, as I was to be taken to some place. The next hour found me in the jail office, whence again, I was brought to the station at about 6. Some of the residents had got scent of my arrest and as I was being taken to the station I saw them lining both sides of the road. I recognized two faces—those of Abdul Kima and Abdul Kayum my erstwhile disciples at Aligarh. I was seated in a first-class compartment in charge of a European Inspector, a Sergeant and an Indian constable, all of them armed.. Another compartment was occupied by a Police Inspector who had come to execute the Karachi warrant and the Assistant Traffic Superintendent, Captain Curtis.

Captain Curtis happened to be a Rae Bareli acquaintance of Shaukat. We were all along engaged in a friendly chat. He is a gentleman every

inch of him. He took leave of us at Kharuah Road and from there to Gomoh I was in charge of a Bihar Superintendent who was an extremely nervous man. At the Kharagpur station, there had assembled a crowd of Railway workmen who were shouting "Allah-o-Akbar," "Bande-Mataram," "Gandhi-ki-jai," "Ali-Bhaion-ki-jai," etc. This so much upset the Superintendent that he ordered the policemen, who were in a third class carriage attached to the special and whose duty it was to mount guard at every station where it stopped, to fix up their bayonets. He had the window shut and the train started in such a hurry that two constables and one head-constable were unfortunately left behind. Their comrades thought that the train was only shunting and it was only after, they found it had covered about two miles that they gave the alarm signal and had it stopped. The Superintendent was wroth over it, as the train had been stopped without his permission. He thought it all the more unsafe, because as he said, there was a railway factory in the vicinity, which employed about thirty thousand Mahomedans. But nothing outward happened. The Mahomedan workmen did not come out of the factory. The three or four who came salaamed me and quietly sat down in front of my carriage. They gave me a hearty send off after the poor constables had come, running, stumbling and gasping for breath. Throughout my journey, special arrangements were

made for my food. The railway restaurants had instructions to see that no lard entered into the preparation or anything meant for me, and that it was cooked only in butter or ghee.

I would get down at some station or other to say my prayer for the period of the day. After we had reached the United Provinces, however, the train would not stop at any big station. Thus it never stopped at Allahabad, Cawnpur, Aligarh, Delhi, or Hyderabad (in Sind). But the news had flashed across the telegraph wires. As our train neared the platform of small station in the U. P. some railway clerk threw a bouquet of flowers into my compartment. Times without number have flowers been showered on both of us as token of the affection in which we are held by our Indian brethren but this incident has surely left an ineffacable mark on my memory. At a Punjab station a Hindu brother who was a railway employee offered me a cup of milk and would not go until I had accepted it. At places, the hotel khansamas showed excessive kindness to me. At one place when I declined to take rice the khansama ran home and brought chapatis for me from there. All the Police officers including the Sergeant were good souls and I passed some happy days in their company. I had plenty of leisure throughout the journey ; and all along I was repeating those lines of the poet :

"O wind coming from the eastward, when thou hast reached her and given her my affectionate

greetings, tell her this that next of God's hers is the name which I repeat every moment of my life."

Your very affectionate son,

MAHOMED ALI.

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**Leaders in Prison Van.**

Michila Press, Cal



# KARACHI TRIAL

MOULANA MOHAMED ALI.

Moulana Mohamed Ali, before addressing the Jury turning to the Court said :—

Can I have the jury on this side? I have not seen their faces yet. I want to seduce them like the troops (laughter in Court).

The Court directed the Jurors to change their seats accordingly, and the Judge also changed the position of his seat, turning to the left, directly facing the accused.

Moulana Mohamed Ali then rose amid pin-drop silence, and addressing the Jury said :

Gentlemen of the Jury.—I just asked the presiding Judge that he might permit me to see your faces because with the exception of one of your number I have not hitherto been able to see your faces. And I also said that I want to seduce the Jury. Of course, there was behind that another intention, not the ultimate object perhaps, but incidental to it, as the Public Prosecutor would say. I wanted you to act as a screen in front of the ladies now behind you, or the Public Prosecutor may add yet another charge of seduction against me (laughter). But after all, I find that as a result of my effort at seduction, I have turned the Judge also towards me to-day (laughter).

Gentlemen, I think I am going to take as much time as I can ; so, it is necessary to tell you beforehand that if I intended to defend myself or my friends and to escape from transporation for life or the gallows or the Jail—I don't know what the Judge has in store for me—it would have been absolutely unpardonable. No ; gentlemen, for that purpose I would not have wanted a single moment of your time or of mine.

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#### THE ONLY ISSUE.

I do not want any defence. I have no defence to offer. And there is no need of defence, for it is not we who are on trial. It is the Government itself that is on trial. It is the Judge himself who is on trial. It is the whole system of public prosecutions, the entire provisions of this law that are on trial. It is not a question of my defence. It is a very clear issue and I thanked the Government in the lower court, because for the first time it came out into the open and gave us chance of having a decision on a very clear cut and pointed issue. That very clear cut and pointed issue is this :—*Is God's law for a British subject to be more important or the King's law—a man's law?* Call him His Majesty or His Imperial Majesty, exalt him as much as you like—show an obedience to him—show him all the loyalty you can—pay him all the respect—

entertain even superstitions about him if you like. But the question is—is this respect, are these superstitions, going to stand even for the slightest moment in the way of loyalty, which every human being owes to God? Gentlemen, I think not for my own sake, nor for the sake of my co-accused ; but I think for you. It is a misfortune that there is not a single Mussalman among you. Three of you are Christians and two are Hindus. But that does not matter at all. I am speaking to human beings.—I am speaking mostly to Indians. I do not know whether all of you are Indians—perhaps one of you is not, though he too may have his domicile in India and may have come to regard India—although an Englishman—as his home,—and may therefore be regarded as an Indian. I am therefore speaking to a majority of you at least who come from a country which is imbued with the spirit of religion and which is traditionally a spiritual country and which has striven through ages for the exaltation of the spirit as against the flesh.

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### TOLERATION—WHAT IT MEANS?

Gentlemen, we hear so much of toleration in these enlightened days, and I do not think that even the Public Prosecutor would contradict me if I say that we all want toleration. The British Government has never tired of saying that it is a tolerant

Government, and that British rule is firmly based on toleration. I do not think that the Government of any civilised country in this twentieth century could ever say that it is against toleration. But what is toleration, after all? It is this, as a well-known man said,—“Sir, I disagree most heartily with every word of what you have said ; but, damn it, I shall fight to the last drop of my blood for your right to say it”. *That is toleration.* That is to say, toleration is required for disagreement, it is required where people are not of the same opinion, where people hold very different views—where they have wide difference. Otherwise, there is no necessity for toleration. But the tolerant man tolerates all this and sacrifices everything for the maintenance of toleration. Now, you might say, a man might hold very foolish opinions—I am sorry many men do—I think the Public Prosecutor for one holds some very foolish opinions (laughter)—and we have yet got to see what kind of opinion the Judge holds—that would be after I am silenced. But it is not the question whether a man's judgment is right or wrong. People's judgment may be foolish. The question is this,—when any person or a body of persons give you a pledge or freedom to hold your own opinions and act up to them, then, I think it is their duty to abide by that pledge.

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**"GOD VERSUS MAN".**

Now gentlemen, what the case is against us? We want the whole world to understand it. After all, the result of the decision here will not be confined to the audience in this hall, or to the few scores of thousands of people in Karachi. It was said that the Resolution that was passed here was not meant for that small body of the audience comprising a few Ulemas and a few thousand people, but it was meant for a larger audience. Now, this trial, too is meant for more than the audience here in this hall,—certainly for more than the five of you. It is really meant for the whole world. We want to have our right to get the protection of the law for our religious beliefs and practices recognised. Let the Government be repentant and say that "we have seen the error of our ways."—(turning to Mr. Ross Alston)—these are the words which my friend Mr. Ross Alston wanted me to say as my last words and they shall be my last words, but with regard to the action proper for the Government: (laughter). But will the Government say that? Is it going to abide by that pledge of freedom of Faith? Or would the Government say,—'No, we are powerful, we are strong, we have dreadnoughts, we have aeroplanes, we have all this soldiery, we have machine guns, we have all this paraphernalia of destruction with us, we command tremendous power, we have beaten the most powerful nation in Europe, though of

course with the help of twenty-six Allies (laughter) and India's men, money and their resources but—that's another story (laughter)—we cannot tolerate your religious opinions and acts'. If they say that, we can understand that. Therefore, it is not for the purpose of defending ourselves but it is to make this issue clear—because it is a national issue—any more than that,—it is an issue on which the history of the world to a great extent depends—whether in this civilised century man's word shall be deemed higher than the word of God. The trial is not "Mohamed Ali and six others *versus* the Crown," but "God *versus* man". This case is, therefore, between God and man. That is the trial. The whole question is 'Shall God dominate over man or shall man dominate over God'?

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#### SKATING OVER THIN ICE.

Now, gentlemen, you were here, though it was not intended for you—you happened to be here—when we refused to stand up when the Judge asked us to do so. We have always disassociated ourselves from and repudiated the idea of showing any disrespect to the Judge. We are not foolish enough to create any unnecessary unpleasantness or to worry the Judge or irritate him. We have no grudge against him. But the whole question was with regard to respect to a man as against respect to God.

As my brother has said in the lower court, and as I say before you now, we do not recognise the King any longer as our King—we do not owe any loyalty to any man who denies our right to be loyal to God. I have not a word to say against the King—I have not a ward against the Royal family. But where the question of God comes in as against the Government, I cannot have any respect for a Government when that Government demands from me that I must not first respect God and His laws. Therefore, the whole question really is, as I have said, between God and man. The Public Prosecutor has very skilfully stated his case and when he came to our religious beliefs and the commandments of God, he was anxious to get over it as quickly as possible. He was skating over thin ice! He brushed all that aside. Now I challenge him—I challenge the Judge to give a decision on the point. It is not at all a question of facts with which you gentlemen of the Jury, have to deal. If the Judge deals with the question of law in his summing up—and sentences us, if the verdict of the Jury goes against us in the case in which you act as Jurors, and if he exercises his right as a Judge to decide both as regards the facts and the law in the cases in which you act merely as assessors, after you give your opinion as assessors—if he sentences us, disregarding our religious obligations, then our course will be clear. It does not matter what punishment we are likely to get and under what section of the Penal Code we

get it as there are any number of Sections.—Sections 120B, 131, 109, 505, 117 and so on. As regards those Sections and the various charges so far as I am concerned, I was greatly confused, and I am trying to compute how many years altogether I shall get (laughter) I have but one life and I do not know if it can cover the many years that I shall get if I am punished according to my deserts (laughter). But that is absolutely immaterial.

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### GOD AND KING.

The whole thing is this—I want a decision from the Court on behalf of this Government that the courts of India cannot give any protection to a man who does the thing that I have done, though it admits that it is precisely the thing that his religion commands—his God demands from him. God is not clamouring from the house top. He is shouting from His eternally high throne—clamouring from there—"Man whom I have created from just a clot of blood, whom I raised to whatever of power and glory you possess—whatever you have and whatever you are—it is I who gave it you and made all this for you—I want you to serve Me and not a creature of Mine". Whatever respect I may have for the King, I may not bow before him when he asks me not to bow before my God and His commandments.

## QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION—PROTECTION OF RELIGIOUS FEELINGS.

The Judge had hinted something about the beliefs of some sects. He said—"Suppose a sect of the Hindus demands human sacrifice." I do not know if any religion in India demands human sacrifice. It is not a question of individual belief that is involved in our case. Then the Public Prosecutor had said that we had different sects among ourselves and that we quarrelled among ourselves as to which of these is right and which is wrong. Well, it is not a question of which sect is right. Do we know which religion is right and which religion is wrong? In this it is not a question of our belief alone. It is the question of the belief of every Moslem. But even if it was a case of a particular sect, do you mean to say that the Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 required at that time that each and every one of the 303 millions of people of India must be agreed—all the heavens and the whole earth and all the planets and the men in the moon and all the men in the Mars—every one must be agreed that this was the one true and correct Faith and it was then that the Queen's Proclamation provided protection? No protection would have been required for such a Faith. What is the Penal Code itself for? It is to give you the protection that I see—that I may not hurt your religious feelings. In to-day's "New Times" we find that some men—Khilafat men—

have been prosecuted in Calcutta because they hurt the religious feelings of a Policeman by asking him to resign Government service. (laughter) I have not the least doubt that these men will be condemned. But you see there is a provision of law even for protecting a Policeman's religious feelings. Take another case. A little piece of stone which some men worship and worship with full intensity—with as much intensity as my own when I say my prayers—possibly with greater intensity than mine. You do not approve of it—you heartily disapprove of it—and want to remove it. But can you do it? You cannot. The law gives the man who worships it, its protection. Why does it do so? It is not because the man's religion is good but because of the man's feelings. Because the framers of the law say that it is not good religion that they seek to protect, but it is the man's religious feelings. It is not the objective religion but the subjective feelings of the man that have to be protected. It is that Lord Macaulay and others sought to protect—the religious feelings of a brother man, however foolish and superstitious and wrong they may be. It is this that you have got to protect, and the law provides this protection. But I base my case upon the Queen's Proclamation and the King's Proclamations. So the Judge has got to declare whether these Proclamations have any value in a law court or not. That picture (pointing to the picture of King Edward VII) is there to remind the judge that he has to give us the pro-

tection of the King's law. You will take that law from him because you cannot either take the law from me or from my friend there (pointing to the Public Prosecutor). If you took your law from him you will be in a perilous state.—truly a sad plight (laughter).

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### THE QUORAN AND TRADITIONS.

But in this case, it is not the case of any man's individual opinion or the opinion of a small number of Mussalmans, though you cannot hurt the feelings—the religious feelings—even of these. Here it is not a question of a sect but of a religion. No person who calls himself a Mussalman, can go outside this book (pointing to the Quoran). Look at this translation in English. This book is full of repetitions. Altogether it is only about 500 pages. It is this book which constitutes the chief source of our religious laws. I wish to explain this, so that, there may not be any misunderstanding. You ought to know where my religion is to be found. I do not take it from any individual's beliefs. My religion is all contained in the first instance in this tiny volume. Then come the Traditions of our Prophet. But about this original source (pointing to the Quoran) there is not one single sect of Musalmans that differs about a single syllable. Therefore, you will find that here is a solid bed-rock for our Faith, about which there

is no difference of opinion. In the case of the Prophet's traditions even if one of the companions of the Prophet said that the Prophet said so and so and if that Tradition, handed down from his companions, is against or in contravention of any thing contained in this book, no Moslem will accept that Tradition. We shall not believe anything that is attributed to the Prophet, if it is against the Quoran. But if it explains it (the Quoran) or supplements it (*adjuvandi cause or supplendi cause*) we may accept it. I wish to make no odious comparisons. But what I wish to point out is that the four gospels of the Christian Scriptures, if we have to test their authenticity—(interrupted by the Court).

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#### BREEZE IN COURT.

*The Court.*—I cannot allow you to go on in this way. It is not strictly relevant to the case. Are you speaking in your defence or not? What is your point?

*M. M. Ali.*—My point is that even the Prophet's Traditions have been authenticated with the greatest ease ; but their testimony, too cannot over-ride the dictates of the Quoran on which all sects of Islam agree. It has been said that there are sects. Well, I am not going to base my case upon anything which is subject to the differences of sects. I am going to base my case upon the solid bed-rock of the Quoran.

If you will give me the opportunity to make the Jury understand what my friend the Public Prosecutor has so lightly brushed aside altogether—(interrupted).

*The Court.*—I cannot turn this trial into a religious controversy. This is irrelevant. You cannot cite these texts here.

*M. M. Ali.*—They are contained in my statement in the lower Court. They are in the record. I wish to explain their bearing to the Jury. Well, if I am not allowed to explain my case I will stop.

*The Court.*—Why bring out this religious matter which has no concern with me? I do not want to limit you unnecessarily. You must confine yourself to the charges against you.

*M. M. Ali.*—I entirely differ from the Court in this matter. I think I am entitled to explain as to what my religion lays down without any difference of sects and to prove that this is the religion which the law protects. Tell me that the law does not protect my religion and I am satisfied; I will sit down. I do not know how you are going to sum up the case to the Jury. Therefore, before you have summed up and their verdict is delivered I am putting this before the Jury.

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#### RELIGION AND CRIMINAL OFFENCE.

*The Court.*—I shall tell the Jury, however that the excuse that you offer is no excuse if you have

done anything which is a criminal offence—that religion is no excuse for a criminal offence.

*M. M. Ali.*—Therefore, it seems to me that the summing up, too, is already done before I have done with addressing the Jury. There have been so many things, too previous in this trial.

*The Court.*—Whether you have committed the offence or not has to be decided according to the law of the land.

*M. M. Ali.*—There is nothing which is required by a man's religion which can be an offence in British India as long as the Proclamation hold. You cannot in this country ask a Hindu to kill a cow. Before enlisting recruits you have to take people's answers down and you bind them by a certain oath. This is the Form (showing the Form) upon which soldiers are enlisted. People take the oath that they will abide by their pledge. Yet not a single Hindu soldier who takes that oath will kill a cow in spite of all the allegiance that he might owe to the King. Therefore if his Officer commands him to kill a cow and the Hindu soldier refuses it, will he be hauled up before this Court? If the Commander orders a Hindu or a Mussalman soldier to use cow or swine greased cartridges—which the Hindu or Mussalman won't touch, and he refuses to do it, could he be brought before any Court of Law? The Queen's Proclamation will give him the protection—no matter what your Penal Code might say. So long as what I do is enjoined by my religion no

Indian Penal Code or other penal law can touch me because the Queen's Proclamation is there. As long as the Queen's successor is the Ruler, as long as the King's picture is here, you, the Judge will have to take your orders from the Queen's Proclamation and the King's; otherwise I will know that the whole thing was a camouflage and that all this talk about tolerance was sheer cant and hypocrisy. Now, in this Form you will see there is a question (read the Form)—"Are you willing to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with your Military duty?" I take it that every soldier at the time of enlisting has got to answer this in the affirmative and to sign this Form that does not allow the Commandant to believe that no religious commandment is therefore, binding on a soldier. Supposin' the man is asked to kill a cow by his officer to provide beef for him. The man absolutely refuses that and he quotes his scriptures and *shastras*. No Section of your Penal Code will ever assist the Judge or the Jury to declare that this man would be punished because he is acting according to his religion. Say that he can not be punished, and I sit down. No gentlemen, you have to write on every Section throughout the Penal Code and every other law, the favourite phrase of the lawyers "without prejudice," i.e. "without prejudice" to a man's religion. You say, that there are bad customs like 'Sati', which we cannot allow. Then you should declare the customs which you will

allow and the conditions on which you will be tolerant. Even murder is not murder if the man's religion demands it. And the Queen gave the law's protection by the Proclamation to that religion. You say there are many religions and sects in this country. Well, then, you should have proclaimed that, such and such religions shall receive protection. You should have made it clear that on these conditions alone whosoever wanted to live within this Empire will be allowed to live and regarded as loyal subject. Whoever did not want to live within the orbit of this loyalty, that man would either have walked out of this Empire or would have kicked you out of it.

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#### THE EVIDENCE—TRIVIAL THINGS.

My friend, the Public Prosecutor, told you that we are very sincere, that we are people who are straightforward. I am thankful to him for this compliment. But he did this for his own purpose, and I am going to use it for my purpose now. Gentlemen, you will now understand that we are not the people who are going to be easily frightened into telling untruths to escape punishment, if we deserve it on the evidence laid before you. Whatever evidence there is in this case is of trivial character and I will not worry you about these trivial things. I am not going to bother about the evidence regarding

the time. We left the Kanyapathshala or returned to it from the Subjects Committee, this was led to prove our association. Association with whom? Association with my brother? In that case the Public Prosecutor could similarly have given the whole of our past history and with its chronological order should have placed in the evidence before you that my brother was present at my birth, that we live together in the same home, that he took away my pocket-money when we were in school—and when I demanded back my money he beat me black and blue (laughter). This is association (laughter). All this, Gentlemen of the Jury, is trivial evidence. The main case is—Does the Queen's Proclamation give protection to the Muslin religion or not? My whole contention is that if we ask the Muslim soldier to give up serving in the British Army and to refuse to recruit, and ask other people not to be recruited, and we say and prove that it is to be found in the Quoran, then, we are immune. You cannot punish us. Where the Penal Code is not opposed to the Quoran, it stands. When the Penal Code is in antagonism to the Quoran it does not stand. It must go. That is the whole case. If I am wrong in this, let the Judge decide, I will be content. You, gentlemen, must not take what the prosecution says about individual opinion as affecting our case, though even in that case we have got to think of the men's religious feelings. I have given you 17 or 18 out of the 34 Hadises and the six verses from the

Quoran, cited by Moulana Hosain Ahmed Sahib. From these very citations the gentlemen of the Jury and the presiding Judge may understand very clearly what a Muslim must not do. The Public Prosecutor has talked of verses cited without their contexts. It was to avoid this that I have given long extracts from the Koran so that you may be easily able to understand to the context. I say, ask any Muslim of any sect, send for any man—even the court *chaprasi*—and ask him to say if what I say is written in the Quaran or not. He will easily point it out for you if he can read the Quaran, and if he knows Arabic he will explain it to you. There would be no difference of opinion, I challenge the Government, I challenge the prosecution to produce any judicial opinion or Fatwa to show that what we declared is wrong. There might be a difference between the Shias and the Sunnis, there is a difference about the Khilafat questions. The Shias do not believe in the Sultan's Khilafat. There might be some difference about some other matters ; but there is no difference of opinion about this. As regards non-co-operation generally there might be a difference of opinion. There might be men who are against relinquishing honours or service or giving up grants-in-aid to schools. They say, this is a matter of business and not of friendship or co-operation ; you may retain this grant or leave it. But after all, it is a small minority that says so, and many of this minority have sold themselves to Gov-

ernment. But so far as the question of killing another Mussalman is concerned there is no difference of opinion. This is the main point.

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### THE CHARGES.

Now, gentlemen, I want to say something about the charges. It is not for you, gentlemen, nor for me, to object to the misjoinder of charges. If I am to address any one on that point, I shall address the Judges. I think I am within my rights if I refer to this. But so far as you are concerned, I may tell you, gentlemen that any number of sections—109, 117, 120B, 131 & 505 of the Indian Penal Code have been jumbled together for the purpose of creating confusion—though Section 233 of the criminal Procedure Code lays down that these several charges cannot be joined. Section 233 runs thus :—

"For every distinct offence of which any person accused there shall be a separate charge and every such charge shall be tried separately except in the cases mentioned in sections 234, 235, 236, and 239". Section 234 says when a person is accused of more offence than one of the same kind committed within the space of 12 months from the first to the last of such offences, he may be charged with, and tried at one trial for any number of them not exceeding three."

*The Court.—I do not think you should trouble*

yourself in reading this to the Jury. There cannot be any re-casting of the charges at this late stage.

*Moulana Mohamed Ali.*—The general rule is that the individuals should be separately tried and the charges should be separately dealt with, because if this is not done it will prejudice the accused and it will prejudice the gentlemen of the Jury. I do not know why they are jumbled together, but it seems to me that all representing the Crown have criminally conspired (laughter) so that so many Sections of the law have been brought in only to confuse everybody. I do not know whether any of you, gentlemen have understood them clearly. I did not quite understand what was the first charge, and what was the second charge—what was to go before you as Jury and what was to go before the Judge and before you as Assessors. It was not quite clear until to-day When I was being brought here from Waltair, one of the Policemen escorting me in the Special train asked me with what offence I had been charged. I did not know, but told him that my warrant had recited. Sections 120, 121, 505 and 117. The Policeman drolly remarked in Urdu which means—"They may apply as many as they like ; for after all they are home-made Sections." (laughter). I wonder if any of you, gentlemen, have played billiards. Well there are three balls in billiard and you score by hitting your ball in such a way that it hits the other two or hits another and then drops into one of the pockets attached to the

table or forces the other balls into these pockets. But sometimes those cursed balls lie on the table in such a manner that you don't know what to do with them to score and this happens infernally frequently to the beginner. Well, the advice that you will in such a case get from the more experienced is to hit hard and trust the rest to luck (laughter) and not unoften score what is called a fluke in your opponent's case and a very difficult stroke, of course in your own way (laughter). Well, gentlemen that's precisely what the Prosecution has done with the charges. It has hit hard and trusts you and the Judge for a score. Out of so many Sections one or two may manage to strike (laughter).

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#### TWO MAIN OFFENCES.

The whole thing, so far as I understand, is that there are two main offences with which we are charged. The first offence is an agreement constituting criminal conspiracy and the second is the attempt to commit an offence—(after interruption by the Court) agreement to commit a criminal offence, which makes it a criminal conspiracy, and secondly, to commit an action in pursuance of that conspiracy. These are the first two charges. Then comes the question of my statement, which was likely to seduce the troops from their loyalty. Then of course comes the abetment by the several co-

accused. I am told the only thing that will go before you as Jury will be the attempt in pursuance of that conspiracy. But I will take up the first charge first—as regards an agreement. I am not quite sure whether any of you, gentlemen, know that these Sections, 120A and 120B, were added to the Penal Code not so very long ago, and I happened to be present in the Council meeting in which the Conspiracy Bill was passed. I was sitting in the Press gallery, during the lunch interval when my old friend, Sir William Vincent came into the hall of the Council. I was sitting with a distinguished Journalist who has since become a Moderate leader and a particular friend of Government. Sir William Vincent asked me jovially if we two were conspiring. I said to him—"For conspining, an agreement is necessary, and as you know only too well I never agree with anybody" (laughter). And gentlemen of the Jury, truly enough, there has been no agreement. No evidence has been laid about agreement, whether here or in the lower court. "It is a matter of presumptions", says the Public prosecutor. And it is really upon 'presumption' that they are going to transport me for life, to take me away from my family, to take me away from my girl, to take me away from my wife and aged mother—to take me away from my country which is still more important to me. And all this on a matter of 'presumption'. Not a single witness came in to say that there was even a discussion about it. I am not quite sure

whether the Judge was filling the gaps in the evidence by asking us questions about this. Anyhow I said in reply that we never discussed the question about the troops. We are told by the prosecution that the accused knew more than the Prosecution. I think that is perfectly true. As a matter of fact, the prosecution knows so very little (laughter) and they pretend to increase their knowledge with the assistance of the invention of the Police (laughter). Yes, the accused knew, what the prosecution does not. But have they not put all their cards on the table before the committing Magistrate?

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#### GENESIS OF THE PROSECUTION.

You, gentlemen, have had a long recitation in this court when the Clerk of the Crown read my statement I made in the lower court. In that statement I showed very clearly the whole genesis of these prosecutions, and I hope you listened to it very carefully. It gives you the whole genesis of this case. Well, I am supposed to be a very frank man.—We are very frank people. *Ex-hypothesi*, you will take it that we are truthful people also. So far as any agreement to tell the Muslim troops in India—even what the law of Islam is,—is concerned, there was none beyond this Resolution before you. But the day a man calls himself a Mussalman he is bound to abide by what is contained in the Quaran. If one

single syllable of it I reject, I am not a Mussalman. I may be the worst sinner—I may be, no 'matter however so, sinful—I will still be—so long as I do not reject anything out of this book—a Mussalman. But the moment I reject that however pious or otherwise I may be, I am not a Mussalman. And whatever is contained in the Quaran I am required by the same law of the Quaran to go and preach to everybody in the world—even to non-Moslems. Take the case of my revered friend here Maulana Husain Ahmed Sahib. He has been teaching in Medina—he is the disciple of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan Saheb, the late Shaikhul Hind. It was from the Hejaz that he was arrested and taken to Egypt and then to Malta. He was preaching at Medina for ten years. He taught there the Prophet's traditions. Supposing he sits outside his house and he reads the Quoran and he reads those very verses that "Whoever kills a Muslim wilfully will find his reward in Hell. He will abide there for ever. God will be wrath with him. God will curse him. And God had prepared for him a severe torment." Supposing when he was reciting this, a Muslim soldier was passing there. Will you say that Maulana Hussain Ahmed has committed a crime under Section 505, Indian Penal Code? If you will say this then why all this tall talk about toleration? Or, suppose a Muslim sepoy comes to a mosque; would the Maulana be a criminal because he recited this verse in the service while that soldier was there? Take

another case. A sepoy comes to him and says—“Maulana, I want to know what is the law of Islam : I am required to go to Mesopotamia to fight against the Khilafat, is it lawful for me to go there and fight against Mussalmans?” The Maulana says it is unlawful. If he says it is lawful then he becomes a Kafer. If he keeps silent, God will curse him and the whole world will curse him. Therefore he will have to say—“No, it is not lawful”. It is his duty as a religious teacher when a man comes in and asks him what is the Islamic law, to explain to him truly the law of Islam. But if he cannot for fear of the Penal Code tell the truth then the curse of God comes in.

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### THE QUARAN'S INJUNCTIONS.

Take another case The Maulana got in a train and finds Moslems going to Mesopotamia to fight against other Musalmans and the Khalifa or against people who are waging Jehad. The Maulana tells them—“It is unlawful ; this is not allowed by Islam. The prophet says Do not become Kafers after me by killing each other”. Will you give the Maulana no protection of the law? You may say—Well, it is alright for him to say this in his prayer. And when somebody comes and asks him what is the Islamic law, it is right for him to say so as a religious teacher. But it is not his duty to go to the house-

top and proclaim it from there, then it would be seduction. Then, it would come under Section 505 and Section 117, or, for the matter of that Section 121A or 121B. I say that even that is intolerance because the Quaran lays down clearly who will receive salvation and who will not (Quotes from the Quaran). I am now quoting that small chapter of the Quaran in which God swears by the world's history. In that God says—"I swear by the worlds history. I swear by all the time that has passed before that all are certainly in perdition but the Faithful who will do good works and tell other people to do the right thing and to have fortitude in cases they are not successful." The four conditions, required for a Moslem to win salvation, are contained in this the shortest chapter of the Quaran. A man's salvation depends upon these ; That he must have faith. Then he must act upon that faith. A Man who believes in Islam, says his prayers, gives alms, fasts in the Ramzan, goes to Mecca and does not hurt any body. Do you think that he will have salvation with only this? No, because the Quaran says—the third step, too, you must take—that you must go and preach those good things to everybody. You must go and propagate these doctrines. You are not born to save only yourself. You are here to save your neighbours as well. Therefore the three things that a Moslem must do are that he must believe, he must act according to his belief, and he must also propagate that belief. If a Muslim says that he

believes that killing another Muslim is *haram* and yet goes and kills him, he may not win salvation. But he is nevertheless a Muslim if he really believes that he is a sinner. Of course if he denies that it is *haram*, he rejects the Quaran and then he is a *Kafir*. but suppose he believes that it is *haram* and does not kill another Muslim, he may not yet win salvation if he sits idly and lets other kill him. But he is not idle and goes and tells other people also that it is *haram* then too he may not win salvation unless he persists in his propaganda even if his efforts fail. If he fails in his propaganda and he suffers because of Section 505 and Sec. 117 and is sent to jail, what is he to do? He must show fortitude. He may be hanged, he may be drawn, he may be quartered. But he must shew fortitude and persevere in his mission. Then only will he win salvation and escape perdition. He must not try to change God's law by one single syllable. He must abide by it and face all the consequence.

Gentlemen, it is not an easy thing to go to Paradise and claim the embraces of the *Houris*. An Urdu poet says "It is to step boldly towards the sacrificial alter of Love". People imagine it is easy to be a Musalman. By clipping one's moustachs and growing a long beard and muttering prayers one does not became a Muslim. He has got to do all these things ; but he has got to do many other things besides, because we are required to do all these things by our religion. It is not enough that I should

not go to war. I have to go and induce other Muslims also not to go to war to fight their brothers, I shall induce him in every possible way, must take the rifle out of his hand but not by force, not by compulsion—but by clearly expounding our religious law. We are saved only when we have saved these people from going to fight and kill other Mussalmans.

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### THE REAL "SEDUCTERS"?

Gentlemen, a military gentleman like Colonel Gwyer in this case went to Bombay. His name is Colonel Beach. On the 20th October, so a telegram in the *Pioneer* tells us, this gallant officer who had gone down from the Army Head Quarters, Simla, met the members of my profession—perhaps to seduce them from their duty (laughter)—and editors of local news papers and news agencies in a round table conference ; and among many other things this military officer said as follows with reference to the arrest of Ali Brothers, though the matter was still *sub-judice* (and it seems to me that from the Viceroy down to this Military Officer, all at Simla are privileged to do that) (laughter). (Reads from the *Pioneer*). "Referring to the arrest of the Ali Brothers, Colonel Beach, speaking as a soldier, said that it would be worth while asking those who are trying to seduce soldiers to consider for a moment if a soldier

who once turns as deserter would be loyal to any other cause to which he was won over "That was Colonel Beach speaking as he tells you as a soldier. Well done! Colonel Beach (laughter). A most sound doctrine and a remarkably good logic for a soldier (laughter)! But speaking not as a soldier but as a Mussalman, may I ask who is the Seducer? Every child born into this world is first a soldier of God and it is men like Colonel Beach and Colonel Gwyer who are the seducers that seduce him from his first duty and his sole allegiance. May we not equally ask these Beaches and Gwyers if God's soldiers, who once turned deserters, would be loyal to them and to their cause to which they had been won over? A man's first duty is to his God. The Quaran tells us that before man's souls were put into their bodies they were asked by God "Am I not your Lord" and they answered in unison "Aye". Well, hang all the souls, gentlemen. There was all the agreement that you need for a criminal conspiracy under Section 120A and 120B (laughter). No gentlemen, it is your Beaches of the Army Head-Quarters of Simla and your Gwyers of the Western Command that seduce soldiers from their duty. If you have any faith, if you have any belief in God then your first duty, your prior allegiance is to God. Is it not the duty of Christians to obey Christ—is it not the belief of the Hindus—is it not a Hindu's first duty to obey Lord Krishna? Still we talk of allegiance to Kings, still we talk of loyalty! An English-

man—not a Mussalman—but a Christian Mr. H. G. Wells, wrote a book after the war a sort of allegory of the whole British nation—I do not know whether any of you has read it. It is called "Mr. Brittling sees it through"—And what does he say? What does Mr. Brittling, who is supposed to be the average Englishman, see through the terrible war? He says that religion is the first thing and it is the last thing. A man who does not begin with it and who does not end with it has not lived a true life—has not found the true meaning of life. His only allegiance—his holy duty—is to God. He might have his scraps of honour, he may have his fragments of loyalty but when it comes to the test of loyalty but when it comes to the test of loyalty to God, allegiance to God, all these fragmentary loyalties, all these scraps of honour,—they are like a mere scrap of paper passed through fire that shrivels up and is scattered to the four winds or merely blackens a man's hand as so much dirt. That is what an average Englishman has seen through this war publicly said. And it is after this war that God's law is to be brushed aside for us in India because man's law—Sections 120B & 131 & 505 & 117 are to prevail over God's law. When I have Swaraj I will see to it that I do not let any one seduce my follow-countrymen from their true loyalty. But so long as I want to reside in British India I claim the protection of the Queen's Proclamation. If I were a Hindu I would have said the same thing. What was Christ supposed to have said—

(interrupted). (The Court rose for the day in the midst of the sentence.)

*Maulana Mahomed Ali.*—Well, gentlemen, the Court stops me at 'Christ'. I shall tell you to-morrow what Christ is supposed to have said.

The Court adjourned for the next day.

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### PROCEEDINGS OF 27TH OCTOBER.

The court sat at 11 A.M. as usual. Maulana Mahomed Ali, resuming his address to the Jury, said :

Gentlemen of the Jury, I was explaining to you that the proclamation of the Queen, made in 1858, confirmed by the late King Edward in the Proclamation made on the Fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's proclamation and also confirmed by a letter addressed to the Princes and the people of India by King George after his accession to the throne gave the protection of the law to His Majesty's subjects in India with regard to their religious beliefs and religious practices, and I was telling you that that was the whole of our case. And that whatever may be an offence according to the Penal Code, or for the matter of that, any other Code, if any person—be he Hindu or Mussalman or Christian—does a thing which his religion requires him to do, then even if that is an offence under the Penal Code or any other law that is enforced in British India, that law cannot stand in his way and he cannot be punished. The law gives

him its protection, as stated in these three Proclamations. But it is not his word that you are to take ; he has got to prove it that his religion requires it. He has got to explain it. As I had told you yesterday, this trial is really a very important trial because, after all, the clear issue involved in it is whether man's law is to override God's law—Whether the Queen's proclamation has any value—whether the after all, the clear issue involved in it is whether the Judge is bound by it—whether the Jury is bound by it or not. It will not be possible for me to explain my case when the Judge has summed up. I do not know how he is going to sum up. But it is at this point that the Judge's summing-up will be of importance. You cannot take the law either from the Public Prosecutor or from me. But you have got to take it from the Judge. But, at the same time, I ask you to understand, gentlemen of the Jury, that if you today deny a Hindu or a Mussalman or a Christian his right to do his duty to God—to do what his Faith enjoins him to do, under pains and penalties—though not of this world but of another, a future world—if you do not allow him to do what his religion demands of him to do, then I say, you yourselves will be a party to the destruction of the religious freedom enjoyed in this country and given by the Queen's Proclamation. It is not a question of a particular faith—it is not a question of the Hindu Faith or the Christian Faith or the Muslim Faith or the Jewish Faith. Every Faith, even that of a sceptic—even that

of an atheist—has to be protected—but the freedom of all these people will be taken away and I ask you—will you be a party to this? I was telling you yesterday what Mr. H. G. Wells has said in his book "God, the Invisible King" and also in another book of his a novel "The Soul of a Bishop". He writes—"a saying has been attributed to the Master Jesus Christ—on whom let there be peace—"Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and render unto God what is God's". "And then he asks—who is this Caesar that wants to share this world with God? What is Caesar's that is not at the same time God's? The world is not divided into two parts—one God's and the other Caesar's. There are not the two Kings of Brentfort". God is the sole Ruler. And if the king or any other human creature, be he the head of a republic or the Judge or a member of the jury demands from you anything he must demand for God and through God. If they demand from you anything which is against God, then that demand is not to be satisfied. It is God alone whose demand is to be satisfied. This says Mr. H. G. Wells is coming to be the universal Modern Religion. Whether it is that or not, it is certainly the religion for every Muslim. It is not a question of my individual faith—my own whims and idiosyncracies. I challenge the Government, I challenge the Public Prosecutor to produce any man in this trial, to produce any man, to say any Mussalman who could say that, in spite of what God says, if the Government of the day says,

"you must not do this" although his religion requires it, any Mussalman who could say "well, in that case, I must follow the Government". And a Mussalman who says that, I say openly, is not a Mussalman. And I believe that this is also true of the Hindus, Christians Jews, true in the case of every one who believes in God.

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#### LETTER FROM THE BETUL JAIL.

You have got to see to this that every Mussalman who lives in British India, any where that a Moslem dwells he is under the protection of the Queen's proclamation. He is to follow the law of the land but without prejudice to his faith. When we were interned we said the same thing to the Viceroy as we are telling you now. When he wanted to release us from internment, but on certain conditions that we shall do this and not do the other, we said "we shall agree to those conditions, but without prejudice to our faith". Again as long ago as the 9th July 1919 we sent a letter through the superintendent of the Betul Jail, where we were confined, to the Viceroy. Therein we said "but since Government is apparently uninformed about the manner in which our Faith colours and is meant to colour all our notions including those which for the sake of convenience are generally characterised as mundane one thing must be made clear, and it is this: Islam does not permit

the believer to pronounce any adverse judgment against another believer without more convincing proof ; and we could not of course fight against our Moslem brothers without making sure that they were guilty of wanton aggression and did not take up arms in defence of their faith". (This was in relation to the war that was going on between the British and the Afghans in 1919). "Now our position is this. Without better proof of the Ameer's malice or madness we certainly do not want Indian soldiers including the Mussalmans, and particularly with our own encouragement and assistance, to attack Afghanistan and effectively occupy it first and then be a prey to more perplexity and perturbation afterwards—these were Mr. Montague's own words and leave it to us to add one more appeal to the many already made so frantically and so utterly helpless for the evacuation of Moslem territory and for sparing those remnants of the temporal power of Islam".

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#### POSITION MADE CLEAR.

And we said—"This is only a repetition in brief of that which we have stated clearly enough and at considerable length in our representation of the 24th April to Your Excellency and for this we have simple authority in our religion". I pass on "In the presence of the Magistrate and the Police Officer who used to attend the Friday Service at the Mosque

we more than once made that position clear. We said if His Majesty the Ameer desires to enlarge his dominions at the expense of our inoffensive country and seeks to subjugate its population that has never wished him ill then we not only do not advocate assistance being given to him by Indian Mussalmans but we will most zealously advocate and lead the stoutest resistance against such wicked and wanton aggression. This is precisely what in September 1917 we had told the Hon'ble the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, who had visited us at Chindwara and had referred to the possibility of foreign aggression ; and he had thereupon wired to Simla to the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, apparently for communication to the Government, that he was entirely satisfied about our political attitude. We do not want a change of masters but we do want the speedy establishment of a Government responsible to the united people of India, and we hoped we have made the matter clear beyond the possibility of any doubt or misunderstanding."

"But if on the contrary His Majesty the Ameer has no quarrel with India and her people and if his motive must be attributed as the Secretary of State has publicly said, to the unrest which exists throughout the Mahomedan world, an unrest with which he openly professed to be in cordial sympathy,—that is to say, if impelled by the same religious motive that has forced us to contemplate Hijrat, the alternative of the weak, which is all that is within our restricted

means—His Majesty has been forced to contemplate Jehad, the alternative of those comparatively stronger, which he may have found within his means if he has taken up the challenge of those who believe in force and yet more force, and he intends to try conclusions with those who require Mussalmans to wage war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jehad—who are in wrongful occupation of the Jazirutul-Arab and the Holy Places—who aim at the weakening of Islam—discriminate against it and deny to us full freedom to advocate its cause—then the clear law of Islam requires that in the first place, in no case whatever should a Mussalman render any one any assistance against him ; and in the next place, if the Jehad approaches any region every Mussalman in that region must join the Mujahidin and assist them to the best of his or her power".

"Such is the clear and undisputed law of Islam ; and we had explained this to the Committee investigating our case when it had put to us a question about the religious duty of a Moslem subject of a non-Moslem Power when Jehad had been declared against it long before there was any notion of trouble on the Frontier and when the late Ameer was still alive.

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#### A MUSSALMAN'S FAITH—WHAT IT IS.

One thing more has to be made more clear as we have since discovered that the doctrine to which

we shall now advert is not so generally known in non-Moslem and particularly in official circles as it ought to be. A Mussalman's faith does not consist merely in believing in a set of doctrines and living up to that belief himself he must also exhort himself to the fullest extent of his power, of course, without resort to any compulsion, to the end that others also confirm to the prescribed beliefs and practices. This is spoken of in the Holy Koran as *Amr Bjl maroof Nahi Anilmunkar* and certain distinct chapters of the Holy Prophets Traditions relate to this essential doctrine of Islam. A Mussalman cannot say I am not my brother's keeper, for, in a sense he is and his own salvation cannot be assured to him unless he exhorts others also to do good and exhorts them against doing evil. If, therefore, any Mussalman is being compelled to wage war against the Mujahid of Islam, he must not only be a conscientious objector himself, but must, if he values his own salvation, persuade his brothers also, at whatever risk to himself, to take similar objection. Then and not until then, can he hope for salvation. This is our belief as well as the belief of every other Mussalmans, and in our humble way we seek to live up to it and if we are denied freedom to inculcate this doctrine we must conclude that the land where this freedom does not exist is not safe for Islam".

Now, this was the first charge we had brought against the Government. "During the War Mussalmans have been required in defiance of their religious

*obligations* (mark the word gentlemen) "to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jehad "and what do you think the Viceroy did? He did not hang us under Section 121, waging war against the King. He did not transport us for life under Section 131. He simply got us out of internment and arranged that I should go to England and explain the same Islamic Law there to the Prime Minister and to other members of the Cabinet. But for the same we are now being tried for criminal conspiracy. What is the Special offence in our case? What becomes of the case against the thousands and hundreds of thousands millions of people—who are saying the same thing to-day. Why are not they with us? I have complained about the misjoinder of charges because too many accused are tried for too many offences. But you have not room enough in this Hall, nay, in any hall to try each and every one of those together who say that it is his belief too—that it is his *Dharma* also. As I have said so often it is not a question of my own individual belief—I who lived with Englishmen, who went to England to be educated at Oxford—I who was most friendly with the English people—even I have got to say it because it is a religious duty—even I have got to say that no Mussalman should serve in the British Army, where he is forced to kill his own brethren for the advancement of unrighteousness. I said it then, and I say it now, that it is religiously unlawful. I said it then, I say it now, and I shall say it all the time. It

does not matter if I am hanged for it, and I hope when I am dead and gone my carcase will shout from the grave that it is the Faith of the Moslems.

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### THE JUDGE RULES AGAINST THE KING.

The Court here interrupted the Maulana saying something to the effect that he would not allow discourse on religious matters there.

*Maulana Mahomed Ali.*—Will you not permit me to refer to the law of Quaran? My Quaran says this is the law. May I have it from you authoritatively that the law for a Muslim is not his Quaran.

*The Court.*—The law of the Quaran is not the law of the country.

*Maulana Mahomed Ali.*—I plead justification for what I did. I am simply stating that my Quaran enjoins on me to do what I have done.

*The Court.*—That is not the law of the land.

*Maulana Mahomed Ali.*—What I am concerned with is this that my law is to be the first law binding on me and I say that these three Proclamations give me protection.

*The Court.*—I rule that against you.

*Maulana Mahomed Ali.*—I am very glad that you rule that against me. Not only has the Judge ruled against the King, but recently in the Legislative Assembly a Moslem Member proposed a Resolution recommending to the Government that no servant of

the Government and particularly no Mahomedan soldier should be asked to go against the law of his religion, and what did the Viceroy do? He disallowed the Resolution.

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### THE FIRST CHARGE.

However, I now come to the first charge against us on which you have to sit here merely as Assessors. But in any case I can address you, gentlemen, though I have now to address you as assessors. You have been told and have seen for yourselves that not a single witness was put into the box to prove that there was at any time any agreement. My friend here asked you to take that on presumption. What presumption? Are you going to hang us merely for this presumption for which there is not the slightest piece of evidence—absolutely none?

No man—not a single witness—has said that he ever saw us, heard us or suspected us to be conspiring, agreeing to commit any offence. I was in England in the month of February, 1920, and probably on the very day I was interviewing the Officiating Secretary of State when a Conference was held in Calcutta, at which certain resolutions were passed. That was evidence against me! But I do not mind that. The Public Prosecutor, no doubt, read out Section 10 of the Evidence Act to you. That section tells you, he said, that it is admissible as evidence against me.

But my very amiable friend there (pointing to the P. P.) wants you to do something more. He is a very clever gentleman. But I knew what he was aiming at. He said, it was evidence admissible against me, but he meant not only that, but that you ought to accept every thing as gospel truth. He asks you to simply believe every bit of evidence as true and, what is more, presume everything else required to prove the criminal conspiracy. Presumption has to do duty for proof and any evidence is sufficient to transport us for life. Gentlemen, I may tell you, that I know nothing about the conspiracy. When my brother went to Assam I did not know, I did not know of it until the Public Prosecutor got up and said that he would bring in a witness to prove this. It was for the first time I learned that my brother had gone there. The rascal! He goes there without my knowledge and I am to be transported for life! That is the worst of being a younger brother (laughter). But even that is no proof of agreement to commit a criminal offence. You cannot presume that. It must be proved and proved without the shadow of doubt. As for the Karachi Conference, my brother could have got off on the score of not having spoken. But the Public Prosecutor can fill that gap too. In Australia, there was a farmer who had a son—and I am afraid—not a very clever son. People heartlessly even called him a fool and wherever his father took him, through his folly, the father got into a sort of disgrace. Once the father was invited to a feast

and the son wanted to go too. But the father refused. He was afraid that his son would speak and would be found to be a fool and he would be once more disgraced. The son then promised that he would not utter a single syllable. And so his father at last consented to take the fool to the feast. The son went there and sat in a snug corner. Several persons put him several questions but the son did not, as he had promised his father, utter a single syllable in reply. So, when a man was putting him another question one of the guests said 'what is the use of asking this man any question. Can't you see that he is a fool?' Thereupon the farmer's son immediately shouted out at the top of his voice addressing his father who was at the other end of the table,— "Father, father, they have found it out. But I did not speak" (laughter). So the Public Prosecutor too has found it out that my brother was a conspirator at the Karachi Conference though he did not speak (laughter).

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#### NO AGREEMENT NECESSARY.

The Public Prosecutor has said that we are earnest people. By the same token, gentlemen, we are truthful people. And although I am not a witness deposing on oath, I say it solemnly—and you and the Judge have to take my words for it—that there was never at any time any discussion among

ourselves about the declaration of Islamic Law regarding the Moslem troops serving in the British Army. The Judge put me this question and I said that there was no discussion at any time. Why should there be a discussion about it at all? Supposing to-morrow we hold a conference of the Muslims assembled together in Karachi, and declare that there is no God but one God and Mohamed is his Prophet. Do you think it will be necessary for us to sit together and come to an agreement? The moment that I say I am a Mussalman there is that agreement. But there cannot be any time limit to it. It cannot be only between February 1920 and September 1921; of course, you know the addition to the period of the charge was the particular gift of my little friend there (pointing to Mr. Ross Alston). There was no mention of 1920 before the Committing Magistrate. This is slight alteration that my slight friend has made to the charge which means twelve months more added to the period of the charge of conspiracy against us. So, believe me, there was no agreement except the agreement that we are Mussalmans. Every Mussalman the moment he says that he is Muslim and accepts the example and the precepts of our Prophet Hazrat Mahomed—God's peace and benedictions be upon him—that very moment he agrees to this also that it is unlawful to enlist or remain in an army which must wage war against and kill Mussalmans without just cause. And as to the Resolution passed at the Conference of the

Jamiat-ul-ulema—it was nothing new that they resolved and declared. What discussion or agreement was required for the Ulema to declare the well-known Law of Islam against the killing of Mussalmans or to sign a *Fatwa* or judicial pronouncement? Similarly what discussion or agreement did the two Mussalmans who are our co-accused need before speaking on the Resolution here? They were asked to declare the Shariat and they did it. What related to the army was not a Resolution but a *declaration of law*.

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### HOSTILE ACTION AGAINST ANGORA GOVERNMENT.

But there was a Resolution too, a solemn resolve and determination that if the British Government directly or indirectly, secretly or openly takes any hostile action against the Government of Angora the Mussalmans of India would be obliged to take to Civil Disobedience in concert with the Congress and to make a declaration at the forthcoming Congress at Ahmedabad in December of Indian Independence and of the establishment of a Republic. Gentlemen, we had provided not only for open hostile action against Angora on the part of the British but also for secret action—not only for direct British action but also for indirect action through the Greeks. Yes,

we know only too well the English diplomacy. At Oxford they define Association and Rugby Football in this manner. "Soccar" is a game in which you kick the man, if you can't kick the ball. In "Rugger" you kick the ball if you can't kick the man (laughter). In England they want to keep down every other Nation and particularly the Turks. But the rule like "Rugger" is that they will fight themselves only if they can't get another to fight their battle (Renewed laughter). Gentlemen, who said that in the event of a re-opening of hostilities against the Angora Government it will be our duty in concert with the Indian National Congress—in concert with our fellow countrymen—to start Civil Disobedience, and that if this sort of thing goes on it will be our duty—a duty of tremendous responsibility, we did not consider it to be a light matter, it was a heavy responsibility that we determined to take the responsibility of declaring Absolute Freedom and Independence of India—to establish an Independent Republic of India. This was not said in a light vein, as a jest or mere bluff. This was a very serious matter, indeed. We know what we were about. Every mother's son of us may be hanged for it. We could have been shot down instead of being brought down to this Hall and having this farce of a trial—the Judge and the Jury and all this paraphernalia. Instead of this lengthy circuitous route, there could be a short cut —no prosecution, no Judge, no Jury but only a firing party at dawn, led by Col Gwyer or Col.

'Beach and a chatter of rifles, and there would be an end of the matter. However, we did declare this ; and in consideration of that grave matter, we determined that, in concert with our fellow countryman we would do either of these two things or both. The prosecution however, is not for that. It is for the earlier portion of the Resolution, which is cited in the order of Government sanctioning the proscution. But the previous portion of the Resolution is not stated in its entirety. That Resolution says, "This meeting further plainly declares that according to the Islamic Shariat it is strictly forbidden to serve or enlist in the British Army or to raise recruits". Therefore the charge is that we declared the law of Islam, and the mere declaration of the law of Muslims, if it is an offence, then gentlemen say so. In that case if you declare the laws of Christianity, that too, is an offence. The Hindus following their own religious injunctions declare the Hindu law—that is also an offence. Therefore a number of men who demand from an Indian soldier that he must not kill a cow will be guilty of agreement to commit a criminal offence—that is to say, they will be guilty of criminal conspiracy. Now I say if this declaration is an agreement, if to declare the laws of Islam is an offence and we are guilty, then say so gentlemen. But this is a matter which the Judge has got to decide only, you will have to give your opinion as Assessors, and it would rest with him whether he takes your advice or not. There is an Arabic proverb which

says, "Always consult your wife but do what you think best" (laughter). I think that is the law in regard to assessors also (laughter)—always consult your wife i.e. the assessors but do what you (the Judge) think best (laughter). Gentlemen bigamy for an Englishman or a Christian is a crime and even a Mussalman can have only four wives. But the Judge has in this case five wives that are to be consulted (laughter). But the Judge will do what he thinks best. I will still appeal to the Judge because he too has a soul to be saved like ours. I make no appeal to him for my own sake. I do no appeal even to the Jury for myself. I appeal to them for their own sakes and have said to them, whatever I had got to say in the matter. You will only decide upon the facts before you and let no man say that any outside influence was brought to bear upon your decision.

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#### CHARGE OF ATTEMPTING TO SEDUCE.

Now, I come to the charge which is before you as jury. You are the sole Judge here. You are "Monarchs of all you survey" here. I would not like you to disagree in your finding. I hope you will agree whether your verdict be for us or whether you come to a finding against us. But let here be an agreement. Let it not be said that the Hindu Jurors came to this finding and the Christian Jurors came to that ; let it not be said that the gentlemen working

in the Greek firm of Ralli Brothers gave this verdict and the gentlemen from Forbes and Campbell gave that verdict. You should be united. I prefer that you should be united in a matter of grave import like this. Let yourselves be guided by your own conscience, because that is, after all, the basic law of all Faiths. You must do the right, you must act according to your conscience. Now, on this matter I may again tell you. You are the sole monarch ; and the charge on which you are to give your verdict is the matter of "attempt," that is, under Section 131 (Reads the Section). "Whoever abets the committing of mutiny by an officer, soldier or sailor in the army or the navy of the Queen or attempts"—that's what we are charged with—"to seduce any such officer, soldier or sailor from his duty"—I leave out the allegiance with which we are not charged—"shall be punished" etc., etc.

*The Court.*—You are charged with being member of a conspiracy, which attempted to seduce the troops.

*M. M. Ali.*—We are charged with being members of a conspiracy, that is to say, charged with having agreed to commit a criminal offence, and in pursuance of that conspiracy, somebody within this conspiracy, some fellow-conspirators, attempted these things. It does not matter whether we ourselves have attempted or some other persons have attempted. True! Well, Mr. Ross Alston of Allahabad (the Advocate-General of the United

Provinces assisting the Public Prosecutor) gets somebody in Allahabad who gets something printed somewhere, and gets that some one to reproduce something from the Ulema's *Fatwa* though he is perfectly ignorant of the Quaran. All this has to be carefully done. He gets an ignorant Maulvi to copy —every Mussalman fears and trembles when he has got to copy anything from the Quaran, lest he writes something different and attributes it to God falsely —the Moulvi copies it, gets it published for Mr. Ross Alston, gets it printed in Allahabad or in Lahore, he gets the same kind of envelopes, the letters are posted from different places but mostly from Allahabad where Mr. Ross Alston comes from (laughter). And you have got to transport me for life for this! This is the thing which we are supposed to have done. What is the proof? He (the Public Prosecutor) says this is the proof. A poet says, "The appearance of the sun is itself the proof of the sun." So in this case too what further proof is needed? Well, the charge is that these leaflets were sent to Moslem soldiers, that they were posted mostly from Allahabad. Because some were posted from Cawnpore where Maulana Nisar Ahmad Saheb, one of the accused, comes from. The Public Prosecutor attributed them to him and to us—well, Allahabad is the place where Mr. Ross Alston comes from; the place from which two C. I. D. officers who have deposed against us, come—well from that can you not have this presumption that it is Mr.

Ross Alston who did it? (laughter). Well, if this thing (showing the leaflet) is sent round, is that by itself sufficient for you as men of any sense—you who are practical businessmen, it is sufficient for you to transport me for my life—to take me away from my children—to take me away from my wife, to take me away from my mother—to take me away from my country which is dear to me—to take me away from God's work simply because they were posted mostly from Allahabad? Is that or not the whole offence? Read it for yourselves. Search for it in the entire record of evidence. If you are conscientious your judgment must be right. You who are conscientious men—you who cannot kill a gnat for nothing—you are going to transport six men for life—not six men, for at least we find we are to be seven—our revered friend Jagat Guru Shri Sankaracharya will also go with us Mussalmans, because, if there was no evidence against him, it was amply made up, after all, by the wrath of the perfectly peaceful Public Prosecutor. You saw that barerarkage yourself. Not, of course, a real storm, mind you, from such a gentle gentleman but a fairly good imitation of one—a thing of the proscenium—something just realistic enough to give us the impression that there was a storm at last with lightning and thunder, hail and wind—all this came from my peaceful and amiable friend there (laughter). Are you going to commit all of us on the proof that there are certain envelopes and certain officers from

the army received them. Officers ! Euphemism could go so further. Yes, officers, so far as courage in battle and length of service and medals—and those real medals not of silver, hanging on their breasts, but medals of lead bullets that found bullets in their bodies and their breasts—so far as they are concerned, really and truly officers ; but yet men who have got, even as verterans and heroes of a hundred battle-plains, to salute the merest white tyro, the merest hollow youth with hardly a moustachc on his upper lip (only girlish peach down because they themselves are brown and black). These are the people who come before you. They come and present before you these things, and say a most terrible thing had happened. "One verse"—one incorrectly transcribed verse from the Quaran—"was sent to us and even without opening these envelopes we scented that they were smelling of gunpowder—smelling of 1857. We rushed to our Officer Commanding and said "Sir—Save us from Islam !'" "

Feelings are hurt, our religious feelings are hurt. We are being reminded of our religion. We are being reminded of our God. For God's sake, protect us from God. Does not the Queen's Proclamation give us protection? We are being bombarded with the quotations from Quoran! We can stand all bombardments but not this. And it is on this evidence that we are going to be transported for life !

But, gentlemen of the Jury, I do not want you

to save me. I want you to be saved yourselves. This is the only evidence and nothing more, not a jot or little more than this. If there was any, our friend (the Public Prosecutor) would have told you. He has got to transport seven for life—a large and long transportation indeed! He took four hours in addressing you—practically a whole day, and thereby earned a day's fee, although his daily fee is perhaps greater than the monthly salaries of all of you combined (interrupted).

*The Court.*—You have no right to make a personal remark. Is it not in bad taste? I know that you don't mean it.

*M. M. Ali.*—I am sorry. But to what do you object? To the reference to the small salary of the Jurors or the fat fee of the Prosecutor and of his little friend?

*The Court.*—To any personal remark. It is not in good taste. Is it?

*M. M. Ali.*—I shall not refer to it again, but I thought I might be permitted to commit just one offence even against good taste when I have committed so many against your Penal Code. (Laughter).

(The court remarked something which was inaudible).

Maulana Mahomed Ali, continuing said :—Well, gentlemen, this is the main thing for which you have been sworn in as Jury and taken away from your work—five of you. Well, wherever you may come from, from Ralli Brothers, or Forbes, Forbes and

Campbell or the Customs House, you are here for that purpose ; otherwise only two gentlemen might have been brought in as assessors as wives of the Judge (laughter). In this case, you are both the husband as well as the wife (laughter). You are self-sufficient. You are the sole judge here as a Jury though there are several other charges—there are Sections more than one can number—there are Sections 120B, 117, 505 and so on—for which you act only as assessors. As you may remember, when the Policemen asked me when I was being brought to Karachi under what Sections I was charged and I told him of all the charges and he said—well they are all home-made Sections (laughter) and they can apply as many as they like. So this is the only Jury charge—Section. 120B read with Sec. 131. This is as regards the leaflet containing an extract from the *Fatwa*. It is the Jemiat-ul-Ulama that signed this *Fatwa*. We are supposed to be very frank people ; so we said this in the lower Court as well as in this Court that we were glad that the Jamiat-ul-Ulamas were at last doing their duty. The Jamiat-ul-Ulama is supposed to be a party to this conspiracy. But the Government is very moderate- It has picked out only three Ulemas for this trial. The Government is astonished at its own moderation as Lord Clive said of his own lot : "I am astonished at my own moderation." Out of the 500 Ulemas who signed the *Fatwa* only two or three have been brought here. Well, why have not the others been prosecuted? [

thought that the Ulemas who had done this would have been here. It is for the first time in my life that I saw this leaflet here. In fact, it was for the first time in my life a little while ago that I came to know of this *Fatwa* of the Jamiat-Ul-Ulama on this matter, though I knew of their Resolution in their Conference at Delhi. However, it does not matter, if I did not know the others who conspired with me. That is no protection for me. And I do not seek any. But in this case of attempt in pursuance of the conspiracy I thought the clear conspirators were the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Whatever the conspiracy is, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema is a party to it and I said that at last the association of the Ulema was doing its religious duty. But I was immediately corrected by my friend brother-in-law and legal adviser though not my legal representative in this case Mr. Kuzzam Ali. He said —no, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema too denies the distribution and printing of these leaflets. So I turned round and said in the Lower Court—“Well I am not correct myself but I hope they will soon correct the forgery into a fact.”

But it is the fact, gentlemen, that you have got to deal with and not with the forgery. Is it a fact that any body is a member of the conspiracy who does this? This is a presumption and not a fact. Well gentlemen, clear your head of this—of all these cobwebs woven by the Public Prosecutor. It is nothing but throwing dust—good old Karachi dust (laughs) in your eyes. Nothing more than that.

## SECTION 505.

I now come to Section 505. About the abetment of this I have not got to say any thing. I have got to deal only with myself in my own individual capacity with regard to Section 505, because I am the biggest offender in the matter and the others are only abettors under Section 109. It says, "Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report (a) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine, or the Imperial Service Troops to Mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such shall be punished etc. etc."

This is wider than Section 131, gentlemen, for I may not even preach to the Imperial Service Troops of my own State of Rampur about their religious duty. What would my grandfather who was the "right-hand man", as Government itself testified, his master, the then Nawab Saheb of Rampur in 1857, and saved hundreds of Englishmen and English women at the risk of his own life and saved the U. P. Government, —have thought of this prosecution of his grandsons for declaring to the Rampur Pathans the law of Islam about sparing the lives of Mussalmans. But that is another story. Well, gentlemen, Colonel Beach, of the Army Head Quarters, Simla, and Lord Macaulay have given me my cue (reads):— "With intent to cause or which is likely to cause soldiers to disregard or fail in their duty as such".—

But what is their duty—the first duty of these soldiers which they must not disregard or fail in? When a child is born in a family—if there is any Faith in that family—the nurse should say not that a boy or a girl is born, but that a new recruit is born in the army of God. That child must be the soldier of God. That's why the primeval souls were asked this question by God—"Am I not your Lord?" and they said 'Yes'. Gentlemen, I am tempted to recite a verse—a verse of my own—a poor thing but mine own—as Touchstone said "Cinna the poet was killed for Cinna the conspirator," when Caesar was murdered and the crowds had become mad through Mark Antony's rhetoric. They killed him as a conspirator. He said—No, no, I am not Cinna, the conspirator. I am Cinna, the poet. But they said 'Then, kill him for his bad verses.' (Laughter). Gentlemen, do not transport me for life for my bad verses I address my own fellow-countrymen, my own co-religionists, and I say to them—you are being reminded of your duty—you are being reminded of your allegiance—you are being reminded of the pledge that you have given to Government before your God and men—you are being reminded of your honour and you are asked to be faithful. (Recites a verse in Arabic). Kindly carry out that first pledge also—the pledge that you gave to God while you are about it. You are loyal people. A little more loyalty will not be amiss. "Can I not say to the Judge—can I not say to the Jury if these people are not true to their God;

Can they be true to their King? (Pin-drop silence prevails in the house)—the God that gave them everything, life, honour, Faith, loyalty itself—the God that has given them the King? If they are not true to their God, they cannot be true to their King. I say God before everything—God before loyalty—God before King—God before patriotism, mother and child. That is my faith. Hang me if you have murdered your own souls. You may talk and be moving carcases without souls, fit carrion to provide food for the crows.

Gentlemen, it is the Government ; it is they who want to seduce God's soldiers. We want to bring them back to their pristine loyalty. The law says that in any case there is an exception. (Reads). "It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section, when the person making, publishing or circulating any such statement, rumour or report has reasonable ground for believing that such statement, rumour or report is true."

*The Court.*—Read out the whole section Mr. Mahomed Ali.

*M. M. Ali.*—I will, Sir. I will not leave out one jot or tittle. The Government will have its pound of flesh. In the case of Shylock, they allowed him only the flesh ; but they would not let him take a drop of Christian blood. But you can take that too from me, to the full measure and overflowing. That exception requires that you must establish the truth of the statement or reasonable ground for your belief

in its truth. 'There is no God but the one God and Mahomed is His Prophet'. Is that my statement? It is the creed of all Musalmans. It cannot be an offence to declare that creed even if it is likely to "seduce" a man from his allegiance to a King or Government that demands obedience from him in matters involving disobedience to God. Is it an offence to say so?

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## THE NEXT OFFENCE

The next offence is asking ten persons or more to commit a similar offence. But for that too, the first question is the question of statement. Whose statement? It is not my statement—it is the statement of God. It is a declaration based on the Law of the Quaran. It is well known to every Mussalman who understands the Quaran. It is not a matter of my own opinion. Let me transport you before I am transported, say to a place where Arabic is understood, say to Aden. If a Somali or an Arab soldier who understands the Quaran in Arabic, hears Maulana Hossain Ahmed Saheb who was a teacher in Arabia reciting verses from the Quaran against the Killing of Muslims; or supposing as I said yesterday, a man comes and tells him that he (the man) is ordered to go to Mesopotamia to fight against the Moslems and asks him about the true religious law and if the Moulana says it is religiously unlawful for a Muslim to fight another Muslim—would it come under the law? It is a statement; but not his own.

It is God's ; and it is true. Supposing the Government wants a Hindu to kill a cow and some Brahmin tells him that the cow is a sacred animal—it has got to be protected—it is the mothers of millions of orphans and feeds us all—it is a symbol of innocence and of helplessness among God's creatures needing our chivalrous protection—you have got to protect it. Is the Brahmin guilty of an offence to seduce that Hindu from doing his duty even though the Army Commander needs that cow for the army's food? I challenge the Army Commander or for the matter of that, the Commander-in-Chief to say that it is the duty of a Mussalman soldier or a Hindu soldier to go against his Faith in spite of the fact that the Viceroy has disallowed the Resolution to be moved in the Legislative Assembly—the Council which I was invited to be in? The "Pioneer" said—"You can influence people. You have such wonderful influence over the people—you have got such talents—you have got the wonderful gift of attracting the masses—will you not come to the Council?" I said in a speech of mine, which is the subject of another prosecution,—I said that I cannot, because who ever goes to the Council has got to pass through the "Crawling Lane" on his belly and the guard of honour is provided by our sisters of Jalianwala whom a cowardly British bully sought to dishonour.

*The Court.—(Inaudible) What is your point?*

*M. M. Ali.—To that Assembly I was invited to go where no one is allowed to move a Resolution like*

the one disallowed by the Viceroy, that no man, no Mussalman, in the Government service, particularly in the Army, shall be compelled to go against his religion. (Reads the form to be filled up by a soldier before he is enlisted). (The Judge interrupted the Maulana again and asked what he wanted to prove.)

*M. M. Ali.*—I want to show what the man is required to do when he joins the Army, what is and what is not his duty as a soldier. (Reads). Mark gentlemen, the question is—"Are you willing to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste, usage to interfere with your military duty?"—there is no question to the man—"Will you do anything which is against your Faith?" or "Will you have any objection when you will be asked to commit a sin," or "are you willing to go to Hell by land or by sea?" (laughter). There is no question like that.

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### THE MOLOCH OF IMPERIALISM.

The Public Prosecuter asked me,—he said to me—if somebody believes in human sacrifice and when your child is demanded you will be the first to seek the protection of the law. In any case, as a non-co-operator, these days, I do not want to seek the protection of the law. Neither do I believe that there is any sect that can demand such a sacrifice from other people. The only sect that can demand human sacrifice of other people's children is the sect of the Militarists. They demand it—their

Moloch of greed demands it—their Molach of Imperialism demands it—their greed for dominion demands it—they want that on the high seas, on God's big broad oceans, whenever a foreign ship passes one of theirs it should dip its flag in recognition of the boast that "England is the mistress of the seas". It is these people who want such human sacrifice.

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#### PASSAGE-AT-ARMS.

The Judge asked me—"But what about the thief? Do you want that the thief's hand should be cut off? I said, if the Government was an Islamic Government I would require this of it. I would have the adulterer stoned to death too, though adultery is no offence in English law. My bargain as a Muslim with an Islamic Government is different from my bargain as a Muslim with a non-Muslim Government. From non-Muslims I do not require that they should do anything for me, except permit me to hold my own religious opinions and act up to them with impunity. My religion can impose its obligations only upon me and not upon others. There is an obligation upon me to tell God's own truth that it is religiously forbidden to join the British Army and to fight a Muslim without a just cause, and that it is unjust to kill a brother-Muslim at the bidding of the Government, which is next to infidelity. The Prophet said—the last thing that he said collecting all the

people who had gone to the pilgrimage together—some 175 thousand people assembled together at Mecca, and the Prophet asked—"What day is it?"—

*The Court.*—I would ask you to stop. Never mind about the Prophet:

*M. M. Ali.*—(Indignantly) I must mind Prophet, I think you should withdraw that.

*M. S. Ali.*—Blasphemy and impertinence!

*M. M. Ali.*—You must withdraw that. You must make amends. I have got to mind about the Prophet. I have to take a man's life who insults that Prophet.

*The Court.*—You must stop. You cannot go on.

*M. M. Ali.*—I am doing what the law allows me. The law says that I am not to seduce troops from their duty. I say it is not a part of a Muslim soldier's duty to kill a Muslim brother. And I am here entitled to argue this till eternity. So long as I want to explain my position I have this right. Take away this right and end this farce. What's the use of this farce? Take out a shooting and shoot us out of hand, or if you prefer to keep up this farce of a trial, try us after our death, as Lord Nelson once did. I say that no man is required to go against his religion—military duty does not inculcate this.

*The Court.*—It is irrelevant.

*M. M. Ali.*—I am explaining what my religion says—I have given it in my statement, in the lower Court. It is perfectly relevant.

*The Court.*—Sit down.

*M. M. Ali.*—I have not yet done with section 505 and have not even touched the charge under Section 117 against me. I have not said one word about that. Am I to be punished without saying one word about it?

*The Court.*—I will not give you a right of speech.

*M. M. Ali.*—Will you show me a single sentence in your law-books that the judge has the power to take away that right? You have already taken away one of my rights by not allowing me to make a statement before the Prosecution addressed the Jury. Your own Bombay High Court says that and the Public Prosecutor agrees. I do not know if the Judicial Commissioner of Sindh has laid down another law. Now you are going to stop me again from addressing the Jury. You can object to a particular part of my address. You can say, "Do not say this." But I cannot understand how you can stop me altogether by saying that you will not allow me to say anything more. (The Court kept on saying 'sit down,' 'I won't hear you.')

*M. M. Ali.*—I am explaining that it is not the law, that it is no part of a Muslim's duty, to go against his religion. Have I not got to prove that this statement, contained in the resolution, is a true statement and not a false statement? Is it relevant or not?—I ask.

*The Court.*—Entirely irrelevant.

*M. M. Ali.*—Entirely irrelevant; therefore, I have not got to argue about that.

*The Court.*—I have allowed you to argue.

*M. M. Ali.*—The trouble is that you are intervening too much. I say that first of all I do not come under this Section. I have got to prove what my Faith is, and that it is not the soldier's duty as such to go against his Faith. I have got to prove why the declaration was made. And I have to prove that that declaration is a true statement.

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A SCENE.

*The Court.*—It is not relevant.

*M. M. Ali.*—Do you think that you are authorised by law to take that right from me? The law says it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of the Section (Reads the first part of the Exception again.)

*The Court.*—'And'

*M. M. Ali.*—Never mind about 'and'—I am arguing that it is a true statement, I am not yet arguing about the intention.

*The Court.*—I do not want to hear you.

*M. M. Ali.*—It is for the Assessors at any rate, you cannot take away the Assessors' right. They will have to give their opinion about this whether I am guilty or not. It is according to law. And the law says this (reads again). I cannot take your word for it. I cannot really upon—I cannot at any man's word act against the clear provision of the law.

*The Court.*—Argue your case.

*M. M. Ali.*—It is not your case that I am arguing :  
(laughter). Well, gentlemen of the Jury,—

*The Court.*—I do not want to hear you.

*M. M. Ali.*—You may not hear me as you have done on many other occasions. You have slept through a great deal of evidence that was being read out. You may sleep now. But I have got to address the Jury.

*The Court.*—(With apparent anger) Will you sit down?

*M. M. Ali.*—If I don't?

*The Court.*—I shall put you in custody.

*M. M. Ali.*—Do.

(The Superintendent of Police was here called to make the accused sit down but retired without touching him, leaving him standing.)

(The Court directed the Sheristadar to call accused No. 2. Maulana Hossain Ahmad. The Sheristadar, approaching, called out but Maulana Hossain Ahmed did not utter a single word or budge an inch.)

*M. M. Ali.*—(Not minding this interruption). Now, gentlemen of the Jury.—

*The Court.*—Do not interrupt the Court.

*M. M. Ali.*—I am not interrupting the Court, rather you are interrupting me, I have got to argue regarding this exception, I have got to deal with this. Take away the charges under Section 505 and 117

against me if you can and I shall stop. You have got the power to amend the charge up to the last.

*The Court.*—I cannot allow you to discuss religious law here.

*M. M. Ali.*—There is no question of religious law, I am arguing about the law of the land as you call it. I have got to show to the Assessors that this declaration of statement contained in the Resolution is true because it is based on the Quaran and the Hadis,

*The Court.*—There is no necessity of it,

*M. M. Ali.*—The necessity of it is what I have got to consider myself not you. You had no right to stop the prosecution witnesses. You could not have stopped them unless you said that their evidence was inadmissible. You did not stop the Public Prosecutor. He was to prove what he thought was necessary. But you will allow me to prove what I think necessary, to prove that it is a true statement of Muslim Law that I laid down, that it is *haram* to serve in the Army. I have got to prove that from the Quoran and Hadis. Material or immaterial, I have got to do it and I am to do it from the Islamic Law. I have got to take my law from the Quaran and the King. The king gives me protection for following the Quaran's Law in those Proclamations. That is the King's Law. If you do not obey that, then why is the King's portrait over there (pointing to the Portrait of King Edward, hung upon the wall). I have got to take my law from you, you have got to take the Law from the King, I have got my statement, based on this King's law, I

do not want to create a scene, I am not here for that purpose, I have shown no disrespect to you even though I could not show any respect to the Court as part of the Government. I don't want to be obstinate and cheeky. But I cannot have my right brushed aside.

*The Court.*—But you take so much time.

*M. M. Ali.*—Yesterday you sent me word that you will give me half an hour more to-day to discuss supremacy of religious law before I come to the Legal points and the facts of the case. I have already finished with that, I say that religious law is to be an exception in every case. Now, dealing with law of the land, Section 505, I have got to prove that that declaration in the resolution that it is religiously forbidden to serve in the army is a true statement and, therefore I come under the exception to Section 505.

*The Court.*—Suppose it is accepted that it is a true statement?

*M. M. Ali.*—Let the Assessors accept it. Let them give it to me in writing. Will they give it to me that this is considered to be proved? Tell me that this is proved—that my statement is true. I will go on. Then I will not argue one word more about it. Ask the Public Prosecutor whether I have got the right or not.

*The Public Prosecutor.*—We admit that the passages cited in this statement before the lower Court are in the Quaran.

*M. M. Ali.*—I want you to admit more than that. I want you to admit that this statement for which I am charged under Section 505 is in accordance with the Quaran and the Hadis.

*P. P.*—We can't admit that.

*M. M. Ali.*—If you won't admit I have got to prove it. Supposing a Christian is charged with making a statement of his belief in God, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. He says that he has got to prove that, that is the Christian belief and it is a true statement. He says "I will shew it from the Bible. I will show it from the Epistles—I will show it from the Gospels—I will show it from the Prayer Book". Will he not be entitled to do that? Will I a Mussalman be fair to think that it will be fair of me—not to allow him to prove that this is a correct statement of the Christian Trinitarian's Faith?

*The Court.*—(Nodding his hand). Sit down.

*M. M. Ali.*—I cannot sit unless you admit that my statement is true. I should like to say one thing. I really do not want to be obstinate. I do not want to be needlessly importunate out of sheer cussedness and ill-will against the Court. I do not want to show any disrespect to *you*. This does not tally with any part of my character as an accused person or as a Non-co-operator. But at the same time I want to stand on my right.

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### THE JUDGE RELAXES.

*The Court.*—You are wasting the Court's time.

*M. M. Ali.*—I am not wasting anybody's time. I just want to convince the jury that the statement is a true statement.

*The Court.*—It matters not.

*M. M. Ali.*—It matters a great deal to me. It matters much so far as I am concerned. It matters a great deal to prove to the gentlemen of the Jury that this is in accordance with the Quaran and the Hadis and that I did not fabricate it. I may have made a false statement. Supposing I commit a rape and I come in before the Court and I say that my religion allows it. You can say—"Show it to me from your religious law." You will not take my word for it and you will have to allow me to prove it. What is it, after all? I am not asking for protection for a murder that I have committed—I am not asking for protection for arson that I have committed—not I am seeking protection for loot. Loot becomes sacred when the Army Commander orders it. Murder is no murder when the Army Commander commands it. In my case, too, when the Quaran commands, murder is no murder. So, when I refer to the Quaran you can say—"show to me".

*The Court.*—Suppose we admit it for argument's sake.

*M. M. Ali.*—I want it to be admitted for all purposes. I may not argue one word about the intention. Gentlemen. I am not speaking in my

defence. But I must prove that this was a correct statement. I had the same difficulty with my friend, Mr. Montagu. He said "Far be it from me, Mr. Mahomed Ali, to intervene in a discussion about your religion". I said to him—"Please do. Let us discuss it and let me prove to you what my religion is". I was actually in tears before him when I told him it is no pleasure to me to be against his Government. He respected those tears. I explained the religious law about the Khilafat and the Jazirat-ul-Arab and he had to listen. I had to explain my religion to Mr. Lloyd George also and to some other members of the Cabinet and they had not said that they had nothing to do with the Quaran. I want to prove that this is a correct statement and you must not take away my right to prove it. Will you allow it?

*The Court.*—If you will only do it in a very short way. (The whole house burst into peals of laughter at the Judge's relaxing at long last.)

*M. M. Ali.*—(To the Court). Why did you not say so before? Of course, I will do it in a short way—in fact in a very short way.

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#### QUOTATION FROM QUARAN.

The Maulana then quoted some three or four verses of the Quaran, already cited in his statement in the lower Court, and added short comments to

prove that these made service in the British Army Haram which was being used to kill Mussalmans without just cause or to destroy the Khilafat and the temporal power of Islam. Thereafter, he cited a few of the Traditions of the Prophet, cited in the lower Court statement and explained their bearing on the declaration, contained in the Resolution. The verses and the Hades cited were the following?

1. "It is not for one of the Faithful to kill another but by mischance"—and thereafter follow the severe penances prescribed even in cases of such mischance". (Sura-i-Nisa, Chapter IV.)

2. "But whoever shall kill one of the Faithful wilfully his recompense shall be Hell ; for ever shall he abide therein ; God shall be wrath with him, and shall curse him, and had prepared for him a great torment". (Idem).

3. "O ye Faithful : devour not each other's substances falsely except that it be trading among you by your own consent ; and kill not your own people. Verily God is unto you merciful. And whoever shall do this of malice and wrongfully, we will soon cast him in fire, for unto God is this easy. If you shun the great things that are forbidden, we will blot out your faults and we will lead you into Paradise with honourable entry." (Idem.)

4. (After recounting the story of the first killing, the murder of a brother by a brother, the crime of Cain in spite of Abel's declaration of his own doctrine of non-violence, the doctrine of every Moslem in like

circumstances.) Even if thou stretch forth thy hand against me to slay me, verily I fear God, the Lord of the Worlds, the Quaran says: For this have we obtained unto the children of Israel that whoever slayeth another soul unless it be for man-slaughter or for spreading disorder in land, it is as though he slew all mankind ; and whoever saveth a life it is as though he saved all mankind alive. (Sura-i-Matdah Chapter V.).

5. And (the servitors of the Beneficent God are) they who call on no other gods with God, nor slay the soul God hath forbidden to be slain, except for just cause, and commit not fornication, for he who doth this shall meet the reward of sin (that part of Hell which is known as Asam). Doubled unto him shall be the torment of the Day of resurrection, and therein shall he remain disgraced for ever (Sura-i-Al-Furpan Chap. XXV).

1. Shedding a Moslem's blood is not permissible except in three cases, when a life is taken for a life (i.e. as punishment for a renegade deserting his side). (This is to be found in the most authentic collections of Bukhari, Moslem, Tirmizi, Abu Daud, Nasai and others.)

2: A Moslem is he from whose tongue and hand a Moslem remained immune. (Bukhari-B, Moslem-M, Abu-Daud-AD. Tirmizi-T &c.)

3. To abuse a Moslem is wrong doing and to war against him is infidelity (Kufr') (B.M.T.AD.: Nasai-N, Ibt—Majs—IM.)

4. "He who bore arms against us is not from among us, i.e. is not a Moslem any longer (B.M.T. AD.)

5. "Even if the inhabitants of all the heavens and all the earths were accessories in the slaying of a single Moslem, God will certainly push them all into fire. (T. Behaq-BQ-Tibrani-TB).

6. "Whosoever assisted in the slaying of a Moslem even with a half a word, shall meet God with this written between his eyes ; "Despairer from God's Mercy (i.e. he shall receive no portion of God's abounding Mercy"). (IM-BQ-Asbahani.)

7. "God may, it is to be hoped, forgive every sin, but not the man who died while still an infidel, nor the man who killed a Moslem wilfully." (AD Ibn-i-Nabangug Hakim).

8. Let him who can see to it that there is not between him and Heaven even a handful of a Moslem's blood, for whosoever such a man will present himself before any of the gates of Paradise, God will interpose Himself between him and Paradise. (TB-BQ.)

9. "When two Mussalmans quarrel with each other and use their swords, both the slayer and the slain shall be cast into the Fire." When the people said "O Prophet of God, the reason for the slayer being cast into the Fire is plain but why the slain as well?" the Prophet replied, "Because he had intended to kill his companion." (B.M.T. &c.)

This statement of mine, gentlemen, is entirely

based on the Quaran and the Hades as you can now see for yourselves and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Saheb will after me prove it to you still further. More than this, you have got the correctness of it established in the Fatwa of the Ulema. But that has been turned from proof of our innocence into proof of our guilt.

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### THE FORM OF ENLISTMENT.

Gentlemen, I do not know whether a man is exempted or not in the Army from observing his caste usages. This Form includes merely a question about them ; and we do not know what happens to the intending recruit, who wishes to observe them. But this is not a caste usage. This is a case of going against religious law and if a man's military duty was to go against the religious law—if the Army Commander thought so, he should have asked this question. Let them ask every Hindu soldier—let them ask every Mahomedan soldier, and note what they say. Dante wrote in his Inferno and Milton quotes it in his Paradise Lost also, that this legend is inscribed over the gate of Hell. 'Whosoever enters here must leave all Hope behind'. So it should be written over the portals of the British Indian Army 'Whosoever enters this must leave all faith behind'. 'On famous occasion' the German Chancellor had said : 'Necessity knows no religious law, and those

who execrate this lawless doctrine are being punished as lawbreakers." What we want is that Government should be straightforward and honest about it. At present, people go to the army apparently with their eyes shut. We ask that they should go with their eyes open. If they join the Army, knowing very well that their religious law and its obligation on them will not be respected but would be sacrificed to the Moloch of military exigencies, and that, one Queen's proclamation and two King's proclamations will afford them no protection, nobody will then blame the Government. All the sin would be those people's who know all this and yet joined the Army. But what is it after all that Islamic law demands to-day? For what offence does it seek the Secular Law's protection? Nor for human sacrifice! I do not say—"Shoot your officers—kill them". No, on contrary, I demand that they be not guilty of the human sacrifice of their Muslim brothers—of fratricide. When you took them to fight the German on the outbreak of the war, I did not say—"Do not fight with them". I do not say, if there is disorder in Karachi and the Muslims are rioting, that Muslim soldiers should not go and stop that. "In this Form" (showing the Form of enlistment) all sorts of questions are asked. The form says—"the following 9 questions"; but there are really 14 and not 9 questions in all (Reads all the questions). I do not know what happens if he says he is unwilling to be vaccinated or even to be re-vaccinated—as some Hindus

may well do on account of the vaccine or lymph from the cow. I do not know what happens if he says he is unwilling to cross the black waters or give up a caste usage. The solemn declaration of the intending recruit only says that the answers are true and that he is willing to fulfil the engagements made without explaining what they are. But let us presume that he has expressed his willingness to be vaccinated and re-vaccinated and to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with his military duty and that there are the engagements. The 15th question should have been : "Are you willing to do anything you are ordered and allow no religious commandment to interfere with your military duty? Are you willing to forego your religion?" Where is such a question in the Form? If the man says "Yes", then it is alright ; and if he refuses, you can chuck him out. But you don't ask him this question, you dare not do that—and yet you take him in and if he refuses to commit the most grievous sin, short of becoming a renegade and an infidel at heart as well as outwardly, you say he has failed in his military duty. But that is according to your own Form of enlistment, no parts of a soldier's duty as such. Therefore Sir, it is not a question of seducing from duty. As I have already said we are teaching him his first duty—that his first duty is to God and the second duty is to his country and his king. Gentlemen of the Jury, the proclamation came as you know after the greased cartridges affair and

the Mutiny, and it was to repudiate precisely this unlimited connotation of Military duty that it was issued in 1858. But what is tearing with one's teeth of greased cartridges or eating a whole pig compared to the sin of killing a Muslim? I have already stated in my statement in the Lower Court and I repeat it here that if a man is threatened with death unless he consents to take a pork he may not only take it but must and if he is killed on account of refusal to do so, he dies sinner. In like circumstances he may even declare that he is a *Kafer*, if he continues to be a believer at heart though it is preferable not to do so and if he is killed on account of refusal he dies a martyr. But in like circumstances he must not kill or dismember another Muslim but patiently submit to be killed instead. And you dare not ask a Mussalman to touch cartridges with pig's grease as part of military duty since your experience of 1857 and the Proclamation of 1858 and yet you call it part of military duty to kill Mussalmans which is far worse than eating pork and worse even than outward apostacy. The absence of such a question as I have suggested means that the Government understood what it would lead to. We consider it a part of our duty therefore to remind the Muslim soldier of his duty to God, to demand from a Mussalman that he must carry out his God's law. This is not seducing him from doing his duty in army and in any case he need not desert or fail in his duty, but appeal to Government through his superior Officers that such duty as is against his

religion, may not be required of him. There is, therefore, neither a likelihood nor intention of seducing a soldier from his duty as such.

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## SECTION 177.

Now comes Section 117. Against me this is the only other Section.(Reads) "Whoever abets the commission of offence, by the public generally or by any number or class of persons exceeding ten, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both."

But where is the offence? There was no criminal conspiracy, as I have explained, under Section 120 B. There was no attempt made by us or by a fellow conspirator under that Section and Section 131 as I have also explained.

*The Court.*—Mr. Mohamed Ali, you are charged that you at this meeting and other places you abetted ten or more persons to commit.

*M. M. Ali.*—It says "Whoever abets the commission of an offence by the public generally or ten or more persons etc." But what is the offence? The offence is to ask the Muslim soldier to do his duty to God, to bring the law of Islam home to him. But that is no offence. And there is no offence that I abet, the entire ground is taken away from under the feet of the Prosecution.

In the evidence you have it that there were two or three thousand people and two or three gentlemen on oath declared that there were only two thousand people and that they were mostly Mussalmans. I was the President there—at that meeting—and am in a better position to tell you how many people were there. When I returned to Bombay from Karachi, I said to Mahatma Gandhi, I was astonished to see that at least half of that big audience was composed of Hindus. But that shows that the Khilafat is a national question and not as exclusively Muslim question. The Marhatta gentleman who told you about the Gokok Resolution said that there were fifteen hundred people and the whole area of that Conference pandal was not more than that of this hall and its Verandah. The pandal where the Karachi All-India Khilafat Conference was held, it was not far from this place—that pandal was ten or fifteen times as longer as the hall and was absolutely packed, not less than ten thousand people were there. Therefore, it is not a question of instigating ten people but ten thousand people to do what we asked them to do in that Resolution. But we did not instigate them to commit any offence. Cook your hare by all means, but cut it, digest it. But my friends, (pointing to the public prosecutor and Mr. Ross Alston) they have not yet even scented their hare much less caught it. They have not proved that there was really any offence at all that we abetted. What was it that I told the people? To bring it home to them that they

must do their duty to God. (Reads from his copy of the Resolution but the Judge interrupted.) (To Court) I must read my copy because I must give you the exact words of the Resolution as it was read out, moved, seconded, supported and passed the *ipsissima verba*. (Reads in the original Urdu.)

Not my opinions or statements nor even the Karachi Conference's declarations, but the commandments of Islam in this behalf were to be brought home to the Muslim soldiers. Has it now become an offence even to declare that it is the duty of the Mussalmans to communicate the law of Islam itself to the Muslim soldiers? I said yesterday that the Government would not be able to find a single Mussalman who says that this is not the law of Islam. But suppose that they find such a man—suppose they create such a man, for we may even credit them with the function of the Creator when they demand obedience to their behests as against the Creator's commandments—they create such a man and make him a Moslem also, and he says that the law of Islam says that every word of command in the Army is God's own commandments—when the Commander says, shoot a Muslim—he should be instantly obeyed. What do we ask? We say, carry the religious law of Islam to the soldier—the Muslim soldier. I don't say, carry my interpretation of it. I say—carry the law of Islam on the subject to the Mussalmans in the army, is it an offence even to propagate law of Islam? Supposing the man is entirely against me. He says

—No, it is not a sin to kill a Mussalman—it is the bounden duty of a religious Muslim to kill a Muslim when the Commanding Officer orders it. I don't say to him—don't carry this to the soldiers but take the law that I lay down. I simply asked him even what the Islamic law says that he has got to carry to the Muslim soldiers. I know a gentleman who got a title and whose sons got several posts because he happened to hold certain very seculiar doctrines about the Muslims and particularly the Muslim soldier's duty to the temporal ruler for the time being. He used to engage Maulvie to go into the requirements and preach his doctrines of loyalty at all times and at any price. But it seems even that would be an offence under Section, 117 I. P. C. to declare that it is the duty of Mussalmans in general and the Ulema of Islam in particular to bring the law of Islam home to Muslim soldiers. Or, is it an offence only if I ask ten persons or more? If you ask two or three men, it does not matter. If you ask that ten, the moment you come to ten—that is ten complete, or you ask public generally, you will be hanged. At any rate, gentlemen, you must go by what I have said and what the shorthand C. I. D. man has taken down and what some pitiful Police liar has sought to put into my mouth.

(Moulana Mahomed Ali sent for Inspector Lakhti Hasnan's transcript of the Urdu Resolutions as read out by him at the Conference and found it tallied exactly with the copy he had from the Bombay Central

Khilafat office on the letter paper of the Reception Committee of the Karachi Conference, showing that it was made at the time of the Conference itself. But the translator of the Government had mistranslated into "these commandments" which would make Section 117 I. P. C. applicable if Section 505 was found to be applicable, whereas the actual words of this part of the Resolution did not refer to the declaration of Islamic law that military service was *haram* contained in the earlier part of the Resolution but to Islamic law generally).

Gentlemen of the Jury, I am not anxious to get off. I am not anxious for my defence I make no defence whatsoever, though I had to explain the Law of Islam to you and explain the bearing of that on the position we have taken up. I have not cross-examined witnesses nor produced evidence on my own side. But I want you, who are mostly my countrymen, though in co-operation with this Government, to consider this. You will find that in the history of the world many celebrated trials have taken place and many great people have been declared guilty of many offences. In English History itself even poor Joan of Arc was killed for a witch. But with what result? Her golden Statue stood before my hotel in France, and while I was there the Catholic Church, led by the Pope and the College of Cardinals, canonised her, and what did the successors of those who burnt her do? Why the British Army joined the French in honouring her memory and in placing

wreaths on her statue. I was present at such a scene. George Washington was a wicked rebel in the time of George III. What is the verdict of the British Government to-day? He is the greatest patriot.

I should like to address a remark or two, particularly to the solitary Englishman on the Jury. Englishmen are not bound to follow the majority of their countrymen, particularly in unrighteousness and injustice. Believe me throughout English History it has been the minority that was mostly in the right and at any rate it was the minority that began great and good movements. A great cause had never been started in the world's history by the majority. It was not Pilate that was crucified. It was Christ—God's peace and blessings be on him! Pilate was the Judge who pronounced the verdict against Christ! But who pronounces the verdict now and who will pronounce it hereafter? On the Last Day of the Day of Judgment, it is God that will pronounce the sentence on Pilate who did not know what was Truth and ask that famous or infamous question so cynically. But where is Pilate now? Whoever remembers him—the great crucifying judge—except for Christ's crucifixion? Now to millions of human being Christ is the Saviour. But who am I, a humble individual, to compare myself with Christ, who am not worthy even to take the dust of the feet of Christ? But as the Poet has said "Weakness never need be falsehood; Truth is Truth in each degree. Thunder-

pealed by God to Nature whispered by my soul to me."

And in the thunder peals of British howitzers the still small voice of the humble man's soul has whispered into his ear this little bit of truth—God's eternal everlasting soul sustaining Truth—that he must not stand by and see Muslims being slaughtered by Muslims in spite of God's clear law but must preach against it and propagate God's Truth, unshaken by fear of man and untroubled by mundane consequences.

Gentlemen, take another case—the case of the martyrs of Karbala. The Prophet's grandson had only 72 men and Yazid's army had thousands and they killed him. He was then in a small minority. But for thirteen hundred years the mourning for that vile deed—the deed of the Government in power—has been going on. Every Muslim mourns for Hussain, Hussain the victim, and not for Yazid, the proud victor ; and many Muslim cities have a quarter just outside known as Karbala, while no trace of Yazid's grave can be found anywhere. So gentlemen, do not think of the consequence of your verdict to-day or to-morrow, but of its ultimate consequences here to human freedom and hereafter to another world, and you have got to judge for yourself. Ralli Brothers cannot judge for you, Forbes, Forbes and Campbell, who objected to a small white Gandhi cap, cannot judge for you, Mr. Lloyd George cannot judge for you. God on his Judgment Day will ask

Lloyd George about his soul, not about yours, and he may have much to answer for. God will ask you about your individual soul and none others. He won't ask Ralli Brothers or Forbes, Forbes and Campbell about it. And if, as a Hindu you believe only in punishment in this very world through the cycle of transmigration of souls, you must remember that, according to your belief, God's Judgment will be visited here and not hereafter and you be judged the moment your soul quits its abode in your body and seeks another. Whatever your creed, your *Karma* is your own and the final Judgment does not rest with you any more than with the Judge there but with God, the Lord of all the worlds.

Gentlemen, I have taken much of your time, far more than I had intended to take or would have taken were it not for being constantly interrupted and stopped. But as I said at the very outset, had it been a case of my individual defence or if all of us accused together only, I would not have argued at such length and with such persistence. I do not seek to avoid punishment ; for, the jail is the gateway to India's freedom. Had I sought to avoid punishment, I think I could have smashed the entire prosecution and proved my case according to the canons of this very law, the so-called law of the land. I could have cross-examined the witnesses and their evidence to shreds—I was really tempted to do that in the case of Colonel Gwyer with his enlistment forms and his "soldier's duty as such." I think I may say this

though I do not pretend to be a big lawyer like my friend the Public Prosecutor or his little assistant. Nevertheless, the case is so hopelessly weak that it could not keep us shut up in the jail for a day even if the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England himself, better known as Rufus Isaacs, K. C. had his Government's brief. But although a Non-co-operator and therefore, debarred by my duty, as such, to defend myself, I had to speak up when the Viceroy indulged in his hill top "obiterdicta" on a matter which he knew and admitted was subjudice. He said that this was no case of an attack on Islam or religious interference. What could be a more flagrant case of both? If tallest poppies are to be cut off for upholding Islam and its laws and you ask those who remain what is your opinion about the laws of Islam which only means "your turn next if you dare to tell the truth" and you cut off their heads too if they still dare. The result may well be that there will be none to stand up and oppose your will. And then you will say "we interfere not with your faith." If this is non-interference, you can enjoy the self-complacence induced by such boasts of toleration. But that is not all. We are asked to look at him—the tallest poppy of the Israelite garden in England—as upon a certificate of British toleration. But, gentlemen, I cannot imitate the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England and Viceroy of India. His law is a law unto him and my law is a law unto me. The example of his people, if I may say so without offence, is constantly

mentioned in the Quaran for the Muslim to avoid and take heed from. According to the Quaran, after Moses (on whom be God's peace and blessing) had brought the Israelites safely out of Egypt and they had been delivered from the tyranny of Pharoah, they were asked to march on to the Promised Land. But they said, 'it is ruled by giants, we shall never be able to enter it so long as they are there' and they said to Moses, 'Go thou and thy God and fight them ; we are the while sitting here'.

Well, gentlemen, that is not an example that I am asked to follow in the case of my Holy Land but to avoid, I can not take that law. It is ruled by powerful people. "They are giants, go thou and thy God and fight, we rest here". But I am not there to question the propriety of that example or that law. So far as I am concerned, the Quaran is my law. Giants are not Giants. I shall fight when my God demands it for me and shall not rest, nor ask Him to fight the giants himself. And if I am to be hanged for it—for waging war against the King, gentlemen, I will still say that this is my law and that it is right and even my carcass hanging from the gibbet will, I trust, say the same. Do not therefore think of saving me, gentlemen, from transportation for life. But if you have God and if you have a soul to save and if you have Faith you will decide according to your conscience. You are not to consider whether you are servants of a particular Company of the Greek firm Ralli Brothers—of Forbes,

Forbes and Campbell—of the Customs office—you are to think nothing of that, but only of this that you are slaves and servitors of God. Gentlemen, this is the one important matter. So judge according to your conscience—it is not to save me but to save yourself. When the Judge had said "I cannot allow this" and wanted to stop me. I said to him, "Then why not stop this farce and hang me outright?" Well, he smiled and replied that it was not only a matter between him and me but also between him and the public and I had replied that the public had already given their verdict both in this Hall and also in the streets where they crowd in their thousands and cheer us going and coming and the old women in spite of their Purdah come out—as my old mother has done since this trial and make signs to us indicating that they want to take off our troubles.

Well, gentlemen, my defence is before my God and my fellow countrymen. Here we are now at the bar of this Court as prisoners and accused persons. But when before the Judgment Seat of God, the Judge, the Jury, the accused, all the co-accused, the Public Prosecutor and his assistant, the King himself—everybody is assembled and God asks, "Whose is dominion to-day?" What will be your answer? You will say: "Thine is the Power, the Glory, Thine the Kingdom, Thine the Dominion." You say now "Thy Kingdom come." But, gentlemen, His Kingdom *has* come. God's Kingdom *has*

come. God's Kingdom is here even to-day. It is not the kingdom of King George but God's, and you must decide on that basis and I must act on that assumption. That is why I say I will follow the law of King George so long as he does not force me to go against the law of my God. I have no personal malice against him, I have none even against the Judge here, none against the Government. Not a single instance of that can be quoted from my public speeches. No, gentlemen, we must act from motives of public good, not of private malice. Once the Prophet's son-in-law, cousin and successor, Hazrat Ali was enraged against a Jew who had insulted Islam, and the God of Islam and the Faith of Islam and Ali and that very instant brought him down to the ground and had jumped on top of him. The Jew thought that he was going to be killed and in sheer desperation spat on Ali's face. You have seen, have you not a vessel full of milk on the fire and about to boil over and you have seen how it subsides the moment a little cold water is poured in. The Jew's spitting acted just in that manner and strangely enough the wrath of Ali subsided at once and he left the Jew and walked away. But the Jew was so astonished at this unexpected turn of events that he ran after Ali and caught hold of him and said "This is very strange. When I said word you forced me down and would have killed me, and when I spat on your face in desperation you leave me!" And Ali answered, "You insulted God

and I could have killed you, but when you spat on me I got enraged on my own account and personal ill-will could not go well with public duty. I could be an executioner for the sake of God but not a murderer for Ali." Gentlemen, we too bear the revered name of Ali and I bear also the name of another even greater than Ali. I will not be a party to the killing of even a gnat for personal malice, but for the sake of my God I will kill all, I will not spare any one, I will slaughter my own brothers, my dear aged mother, wife, children and all for the sake of God, so help me God! (And as he said this his voice failed him, drops of tears rolled down his cheeks and he sat down completely overcome.)

STATEMENT OF  
MOULANA SAUKAT ALI

Gentlemen of the jury and the Judge, I am personally not capable of making a long speech. If you interrupt me in the middle of my argument I lose my points I am not so clever as my brother. If you interrupt him in the middle of his speech, if you ask him questions—he will never lose his argument—he seldom misses his points. I am positively certain if you will give me a patient hearing, I think you will have no complaints. If the trying Magistrate had just the little patience to hear me—to let me say my say in my own way he would not have had any complaint whatsoever. It is not my desire to waste your time or my own by inflicting a long speech upon you. I am also anxious to see the case finished. I am anxious to see my mother and fellow-workers go away without any further delay. There is so much work to be done ; and I begged of her and wished her to go away. But she said that she wants to go away either to us or without us, without further delay when the case was finished. So, I cannot afford to make an unnecessary waste of your time and mine by making a long speech. Besides, we have much work to do for the country.

Before I go further and say what I want to say,

I want clear to a few points. I am one of the Secretaries of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee and I have worked much for it, and if the Central Khilafat Committee have done anything—any work that has been done by this Committee—with the help of a large body of earnest workers, I have played an important part in it, I am very glad—I am thankful to the public prosecutor that he has acknowledged what have I done for it. And whatever I say now, will be taken as absolutely fair and truthful. I want to speak everything frankly—I want to speak out what is the real truth for your information and for the information of the Judge.

I just give you the information which the Prosecution failed to supply to you. Poor Maulvi Nisar Ahmad, who had just come from the Mathura Jail having been convicted under Section 124 and sentenced to six months even now a prisoner—came with us all the way from Gokak. While coming with us from Bombay, he got fever in the train. He also was with us when my brother and myself and Dr. Kitchlew were living at Kanya Pathshala that if further information I give to you, Poor Nisar Ahmad was laid up with fever. He was not a member of the Central Khilafat Committee. He took no part in the Subjects Committee. He was not elected to it. In the Conference meeting, he was called upon to speak as he is a great preacher. He spoke nothing outside the Quaran and the Hades. The people

were anxious to hear him. He said only a few words.

You have heard Maulana Husain Ahmad, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid Sah, my brother and Dr. Kitchlew—they have told you that if a Muslim goes to a Muslim scholar to know what the law of Islam is, it is the bounden duty of him as a theologian to give him a fair and square answer. So Maulana Nisar Ahmed was asked to speak on the subject. The subject is very simple for a Moslem—he requires no time to think over it—it is not necessary at all. He was in fever and so he made a short speech. What the effect of this information will be on this case, I do not care—no true Mussalman would care to bother as to the result of speaking of what he regards as gospel truth. Another thing I want to say, and that is about Shri Sankaracharya. Our Karachi friends wanted him to come with us. So on an invitation from the Khilafat Committee, like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu he came with our party to attend the meeting. I here take the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the sympathy and support of our Hindu brethren in our Khilafat cause. We have a very large number of Hindus who are helping as workers and even as office-bearers. There is not a single city in which we have no Khilafat Committees and where we have not a large number of Hindu workers with us. I have travelled all over India ; and I may tell you that in all places the Hindus are working with us for giving us assistance and in many places, where the Mussal-

mans are weak, they are working as members of the Committees and even as Presidents and Secretaries or as workers. So Shri Sankaracharya came to give his Hindu ecclesiastical support and sympathy with the Khilafat cause, and I may tell you again that Mahatma Gandhi our great Sirdar, our great Chieftain also comes and gives us his support. We carry our ordinary business ourselves, we draw up our Resolutions, we talk we quarrel we fight in our Subject Committees ; but as a rule we send for him only when we want him to make a speech often not on any Resolution. But these speeches are made only in a general way especially to prove his sympathy with the Khilafat cause. So too, Jagat Guruji came in and spoke. Whatever value you may attach to it, you may ; but it is God's truth which I consider as my duty to put before you.

As for myself, I am not going to make a speech in my defence except to tell you what I think and I ought to tell about our work clearly and frankly. After what you have heard from my brother and from that great theologian-gentlemen, that one speech that one statement which I would beg of you to consider and pay greatest respect and attention to—is that of Moulana Hussain Ahmad Saheb. You have heard Dr. Kitchlew and Shri Sankaracharya. I have nothing left in store for me (laughter). But I want to tell you this—which I hope—you will appreciate why we are doing all this. The Judge incidentally put a question to the Public Prosecutor when he was trying to prove

a conspiracy that—Did he not think that this Resolution passed at the Karachi Conference, was meant more for the Government so that they might realise the feelings of the Muslims? Now I may speak for myself and for Mahatma Gandhi having lived with him—we have practically lived as two brothers—I want to tell you and the Court so that you may understand that every effort by us by Mahatma Gandhi —by the Central Khilafat Committee and by all our workers and sympathisers—extremists and Moderates —every effort possible has been made to bring this home to this Government that it is a very serious question. For Government's sake, you must realise this. Believe me, gentlemen, that every possible effort was made to make this Government realise the gravity of the situation—we asked them—"satisfy the Muslim demand—rectify the Punjab wrongs and grant us Swaraj—the Mussalmans, the Hindus, every one will be perfectly willing to co-operate with you.

Colonel Wedgewood is a Christian—is an Englishman. He came over to India to study the question. I heard from my brother and friends in England that Colonel Wedgewood had helped the Khilafat cause in and outside Parliament. The Khilafat Committee in Bombay convened a public meeting to welcome him. Colonel Wedgewood was present there. We thanked him for his efforts. A resolution was put in, and I proposed that resolution I spoke in his presence. I told him frankly that my heart was burning against England ; and it will continue to do so, as long as

Britain has not evacuated the sacred places of the Moslems, so long as the British Government has not satisfied the Khilafat wrongs, so long as they have not redressed the Punjab wrongs, so long as we do not get Swaraj. So long as these are not done, I count myself as an enemy of England. I hate everybody who is an enemy of my God, who is an enemy of my Faith and my country ; and all that lies in my power I shall do in getting my rights back. I told him also that any body—be he an Englishman—be he a jew—a Parsee agnostic or whosoever he may be anybody who comes forward and does something to help me in getting my rights back, who will help me in giving me satisfaction about the Khilafat, about the Punjab wrongs, and help me to win Swaraj, there is the hand of brotherhood and fellowship I offer. And Colonel Wedgewood jumped up and took it. I shook hands with him. And I spoke in Urdu and told the audience, there were 2500 of them,—“Do not blame me as I am shaking hands with him, it is because he helped us in our Khilafat work. He has come to study the Khilafat question. He has come all the way with an open mind to study the question, and he is going to do what he can and on behalf of the Muslims of Bombay, say for the matter of that, for the Muslims of the whole of India, I offer him my ‘hand of brotherhood and fellowship.’” And they all said—“Do it”. I say now, again, whosoever helps us, whosever helps us in giving satisfaction with regard to the undoing of our wrongs, whether he is the

Judge, whether he is the Public Prosecutor or the Jury or the Viceroy, whosever he may be, we all offer him our hand of fellowship and brotherhood. Every effort was made, every effort has been made and is being made by us to justify our cause and in getting our rights back. When we were in jail, there was no Khilafat Committee worth speaking. There was no organisation. There was no fund. Dr. Kitchlew was in jail, my brother was in jail. On the 28th December, 1919, from the Benares Jail we proceeded straight to the Congress at Amritsar. There was held a Khilafat Congress. I was asked to preside in that Conference. We did not think of a Revolution then, we did not think of a Republic, we did not think of rising in rebellion. I did not say that we are all rebels—I did not say that I acknowledge no king—that I owed no allegiance to him—that I did not say that I was a free man and India was my home and God alone my King—I did not say that we do not want your Police, your Army and your Navy—I did not say that I do not want the protection of your hands—then I counted myself as the subject of the King Emperor. At that Khilafat Conference, gentlemen, a Resolution was passed that a deputation does wait on the Viceroy to put everything before him—to put our case clearly and moderately. Another Resolution was that we must send a deputation to England to put our case before the King, the Parliament and the people of England. I as president was ordered to make arrangements. The Government of India ready-

ly assented to receive the deputation ; and on 19th of January, 1920 the pick of the Mussalmans,—the Ulema, the pick of the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi was in the gallery—we waited upon the Viceroy and put clearly our demand. The Viceroy made a speech. He had personal sympathy with us and he realised that the Moslem feeling was genuine. And he got the Deputation to England a passage in February next. My brother, Maulana Soleman Nadri, Mr. Syed Hossain and H. M. Hayat were members of the Deputation. The Deputation sailed and we waited for months and months to see what answer we get from my brother. We were eagerly waiting for cable from him. Meantime every possible effort was made to carry our message to our people—everything was put before the Viceroy to make him and the English people realise our grievances—that it is a matter of our religion—it is a matter of our conscience, there was no question of bluffing in this as has been hinted. We mean business now and we meant business then. We wanted that England should know what the Muslims felt about the Khilafat and once for all realise the strength of genuine Muslim feeling.

People ask—what has become of the Ali Brothers? I tell you—we have our English friends. I was in Government service for seventeen years : my brother was brought up in England, was for four years at Oxford. I was one of the best cricketers in my day. I was a strong swimmer an expert athlete.

I was socially popular—Mr. Ross Alston will be able to tell you that. I met him in Benares. I was then in Government service. I want to say all this to show that we are not by nature Revolutionary—that we are not born in a Revolutionary family. I have not gone mad—a mad dog has not bitten me (laughter). But things happened which have upset us. We were once very careless, we used to put on fine clothes, we were brought up in luxury. Those old days are gone. You have no idea how dressed and smart this brother of mine Mahamed Ali was—how he used to spend thousands of rupees on clothes only. But things are different now.

Well, the point is this. We did what we could in India. We made our appeals to England—to British Ministers, The Government of India sympathised with us, they wanted to show a generous spirit. The Government of India, the Governor of Bombay realised the feelings of the Muslims. The Governor of Bombay, I am told, said that my heart is in sympathy with the Muslims but it is not in our power, go to England. Therefore we sent over deputation. They went over a deputation. They went over everywhere. They interviewed Mr. Montagu—they interviewed the Prime Minister—they saw Members of Parliament, they addressed meetings in England—in the country in Scotland. But with no result. They went over to France. They knocked at every door—waited for some little consideration—some little ray of hope. We waited for a message. My

brother for days and months never sent a message. At last, a message came. We came to know that France was willing to make an honorable peace with Turkey and satisfy what the Muslims demanded—and that Italy had already made peace with Turkey and that it is our Government the British Government alone who was unwilling. When the war broke out, England promised—on 5th November 1914 Lord Hardinge made a definite pledge on behalf of he kind—and even the Czar of Russia was consulted—and they all agreed to this that all the Muslim sacred places would be immune from attack and molestation. I do not remember all the details. One clever brother in the family is more than sufficient (laughter). But all the same, what I am telling is absolute truth. Therefore, I am not keeping back anything. Because we are straight forward, we tell you in your face what we think. And God willing I still hope—hoping against hope—that things will not be bad—as bad as they are. Let us hope that.

We came to know that it is possible ;—we can get nothing from England. That's what our deputation told us. In the meantime, we were not idle. When we found that England's pledges carry no weight, we acted like old Cromwell, "Trust to God and keep your powder dry." We carried this message to every home in India ; we roused the Moslems, we roused our Hindu brothers to work—to do what lay in our power. When we found there was no hope, that this Government would pay no attention

to all our appeals—to all our memorials—to all our beggings, prayers and petitions—we decided, after a full consideration—after a great deal of heart-searching. And the great man whom I, a Mussalman, am proud to acknowledge as my Sirdar and Chief—Mahatma Gandhi—he who is not only a great man, a good man, a clever man, a shrewd *Bania* as he is, who thinks two hundred times before he says anything—he thought and thought over it, and at last told us that there was no chance whatsoever to make this Government realise the wrongs it has done or to repent for its actions—but to put difficulties in its way—in a peaceful way—that if they may come to hear us. And we started Non-violent Non-co-operation. We spread the message all over India. I have travelled many thousand miles—I have travelled all over India—I have been spreading this message to thousands and thousands of our fellow-countrymen and country women—working and carrying this message to every home—man, women and child. How many thousands of miles Mahatma Gandhi travelled—how many thousands of miles I have travelled—how many thousands of our people, Hindus and Mussalmans are working for the Khilafat and for Swaraj gentlemen, we know and the Government knows it well. We do not mind what the Anglo-Indian papers write about us—what our moderate brothers say about us. Our chief is the coolest man. The one man that never gets excited is Mahatma Gandhi. He is calm ; he is resourceful.

he is too careful, he knows what he does ; and he knows how to do a thing. And I may tell you, gentlemen, I will betray him I think he is in his heart of hearts still believes in England that she will yet apologise, yet repent when she realises our just cause, will appreciate the justice of our demand regarding the Khilafat and the Punjab and will give us what we want. I have studied him. He breathes in his heart of hearts that every Englishman and English-woman is not what the Anglo-Indian newspapers picture them to be. He still believes that the British Government will yet come round, that they will satisfy the Muslims, they will yet give satisfaction on the question of Khilafat and the Punjab and give us what is necessary. If so well and good, gentlemen, there is a well-known Persian Proverb "you call me a Haji and I call you a Haji—" *Man Aura Haji begoyam to mara Hajibego.*"

Gentlemen, I have told you that I want to be fair and square. I am a frank man and I know my brother also. I brought him up as a little boy at Aligarh ; I ate up his pocket money ; I thrashed him when he questioned about it ; I educated him ; I sent him to Oxford. I have followed him as a friend and I now follow him as a leader. There is one weakness in him that I tease him about. There are two—one is that he cannot forget the four years he had at Oxford. He had a certain affection for England and its people. And the second is by nature he is a believer in Constitutionalism. If there is one Consti-

tutional man in India it is Mahomed Ali and that's why he was so much worrying the Judge and the Jury. But circumstances are different. We are being forced—we are doing all this because we must. You know my faith. You have heard my brother ; you have Dr. Kitchlew ; you have heard Maulana Husain Ahmad Saheb. All of them have told you that we must work and induce others to work for a good cause. It is my Faith as a Muslim. It is a perfectly good thing for me to die for God and Truth ; and it is equally a good thing for me to kill for a good cause. I am not afraid of this.

But we have thought over the whole thing. We still give the Government every chance possible. Mahatma Gandhi and we all of us in the Congress Special Session in Calcutta in September, 1920 said that within one year we would get Swaraj and that we would start Non-violent Non-co-operation. The Congress took up our Khilafat programme and adopted it. This period expired on the 30th September, 1921. But on account of the Congress decision we have extended it till 31st December 1921, and in the period to make every possible effort that lies in our power to bring this Government to realise its duty, to carry out the promise made, and to give us every satisfaction. You may think that we are showing courtesy to you—that we mean any insult to your person. No, personally I am as humble as anything. If you wish I may make an honest and sporting offer to you. To-day, if any personal humiliation you may

require from us—from me—from my brother or from Mahatma Gandhi—if you ask us without any show of force—without any threat—if you want us to crawl for you—if you want me to crawl on my belly—though I am so heavy, I will do so. I will write poetry on the ground with my nose and whitewash my face and body. I will do all gladly and cheerfully only on this promise that you will give me satisfaction as regards my demands. Today, believe me, when I go to say my prayers five times a day—and turn my face towards Kaaba (Mecca)—not always but sometimes when God's light is on me—my heart tells me "You coward, your Kible (Kaaba) is not yours. It is in the hands of men who are not going to give it back to you. The custodian appointed can not afford even to keep it clean or light it. You ought to be ashamed of yourself." Yes: this is true. The Law of the Quaran says that no Non-Muslim should have any control whatever over any part of our sacred places in the Jazirat-Ul-Arab. Take it from me what I am saying I am speaking from facts. I am perfectly willing, if you satisfy me on those points, to whatever you like. You may hang me—you may transport me for life—I will not object—I am perfectly willing to go on my knees—if you (Judge) will only throw away the file ; run and go to Simla to-morrow and tell the Viceroy there that we are not black-guards—that you are convinced of our sincerity and that you can not convict us under any Section of the Penal Code for our adherence to Islamic Law and

tell him to satisfy our just demand. After all, what are we guilty of? We do not want any body's home—we do not want any part of England—we do not want any body's property—I do not want that this Judge should be hanged and I should go and take his place (laughter). No, I want to hurt nobody. I only say—"Give me back my own; you have no interest in that, it is a land of sand—it does not produce anything. There is nothing in this country. It is a most uninviting country—the climate is hot and no European can stand that. On that barren country my Prophet and His companions walked bare-footed. If I had health and strength, I would like to kneel at every step and kiss every inch of that sacred ground,—perchance I may kiss one particle of sand that had touched my Prophet's feet. To-day I am non-violent. We have an army of workers. If I am in jail, my mother is working. My mother is in jail, his wife is working, though she is not as brilliant as my brother—she is working. Thousands of women have come out, throwing away their veil. Many thousands of new workers have come out—they are all praying for us. I say, when I came to this hall, that old and young women prayed for us and pointed with their heads inwards Heaven. Each one of them will tell you that God is with us—children, boys, old and young—they are all with us. I have travelled from Karachi to Assam—I have travelled all over India—and I may tell you, gentlemen, I have seen the same everywhere—the feelings are very strong.

Gentlemen, you have heard a great deal about Malabar. People say that the speech my brother made in July in Karachi :—

*The Court.*—I will not allow you to speak on the Moplahs.

*M. S. Ali.*—I am not going to talk on the Moplahs. You will appreciate what I say. My brother never went to Malabar. Mohatma Gandhi and myself went there. We reached there at 12 o'clock. We were carried in a procession—then we went to a public meeting we came back to Madras. I saw that it was our weak point. We had no workers there and what there were hampered. Wherever we are strong—wherever our workers have reached—thank God—the peace of India is kept and orders of the Jamiat-ul-Ulma—the orders of the Khilafat Committee—the orders of the Congress and the orders of the Mahatma Gandhi have been carried out.

Gentlemen, you know how this Anglo-Indian Press have been flouting the religious demands and others are ridiculed. They say all sorts of things about us ; and I may tell you frankly that some young men were exasperated at this constant slanders against us in the Anglo-Indian Press. These young men—their blood was boiling—came to us and asked us "what are we going to do." They said—"We cannot remain non-violent non-co-operators always." I said 'No' to them. I tell you my reasons. Where a question of killing comes in, I will go and kill.

myself. But we cannot have two things together. We cannot have peace and war both. We can only have one policy. The order has gone out that we are to carry out non-violent non-co-operation. You cannot have two things together—either you will have peace or you will have war—*i.e.*, Revolution. And up to 31st December we shall have peace. Every order of our Sirdar Mahatma Gandhi the great Chief in this campaign we have got to carry out. I may tell you, gentlemen, the danger is there, the feeling is there. It is the feeling everywhere—in my heart—in all the accused's heart—in every Muslim's heart—in every Hindu's heart—in every Indian man's and woman's heart ; and the two Hindus and Mussalmans are combined ; the women have thrown off their veil and have taken up the Nation's work. The feeling is working—it has reached Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Turkestan, Khiva, Bokhara and Russian Muslims and to numerous other people—to the Muslims all the world over. As a Secretary of Central Khilafat Committee I get many informations. It is my business to find what the Muslim world is doing. And I am very glad to tell you that it has reached practically every house in India—to every Muslim in the world. I am not saying all this as a threat. This is a fact which you will have to realise. We went to the Viceroy and gave him a warning. My brother went to England and spoke clearly to the Secretary of State. We said that we are agreed to make peace. Dr. Ansari, Mr. Chotani and other

people, went to England. Mr. Chotani has only just returned. They did their best. We had to tell the Government and I tell it again—through you—and through this court—I want this message should go to the higher authorities that we are perfectly willing—we are anxious—to make peace but let the Khilafat be satisfied to satisfaction of Islamic laws, not of any individual Shaukat Ali or Mahomed Ali or Kitchlew. Let the Punjab wrongs be righted. And I want you to carry this to the authorities at Simla or elsewhere. Let there be a conference of thirty men—men who have understanding—whom India trusts—reliable men—God-fearing men who have got truth in them and who in their daily life followed no other law—who will see what the whole Muslim demand is. And if such men (Ulema) give a Fatwa saying that England is going to satisfy your demands and now you can co-operate with them I shall be very glad to go and shake hands with every English officer and be a subject to the King again. This is honest truth. But suppose this is not done you may say what you will, do it at once. Well I shudder to think. I cannot forget—I, who was most friendly with the English people among whom I count some of my intimate friends—I who was educated by Englishmen. Next to my mother I owe everything to Englishmen I cannot forget this. When I wish to fight against Englishmen the figure of my revered Professor Theodore Beck comes to my mind I know what he is to me. This is honest truth. I wish that

we should as soon as possible get our quarrels settled without any further unpleasantness. My true feeling is this—that as India is my country—it is the country of every one—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Christians and Jews who has made it his home and even of every Englishman or woman who has made it his or her home and is ready to serve and love my country and I hope nobody will be tormented here, when I have my Swaraj on account of his conscience. Whosoever is true to India, whosoever will serve her will find his place here, and the laws of the country will protect him. That is why I am anxious that India should not become another Ireland or Egypt. We are 33 crores here ; we can very well look to our coasts ; we can very well guard our frontiers. Look at the hugeness of its coast, at its land frontiers. There is a corridor from Constantinople right up to Saharanpur where the majority are Mahomedans—all through Muslim countries—Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Bokhara, Khiva, Russian Muslims. We know there 40 crores of Muslims in the world ; and our brother Hindus—22 crores of Hindus have thrown in their lot with us. And is it worth while to fight 62 crores? We fully realise our strength. I can assure you that this is not bluff. We know our strength. Our chief, our great Sirdar, Mahatma Gandhi will prove to be one of the greatest generals if he could believe in violence. I have also the blood of a soldier in me (laughter). And the battle will be fought in India. If we kill a few

English men here, many Karachi houses, my relatives' tombs, Muslim tombs, Muslim houses, Hindu houses, many Muslims and Hindus will be killed and destroyed. But I know my strength from what is happening in Malabar. In spite of all the resources and powerful military strength, the Government cannot subdue the handful of Moplahs. I can draw my strength from every district in India. Malabar is a small district—there are a few Mahomedans—they are fighting and fighting for two months. Every district in India is stronger than Malabar.

The Muslim in every district in the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bengal are stronger people ; they have more brains ; they are more educated. What would be the effect if the whole country was like Malabar? But I want to avoid all this because it is not by bloodshed that we want to satisfy our demand—it is not bloodshed that we want. We have made every possible effort to make the Government realise the situation—we have given them time to think up to 31st December. We were working hard, day and night. But our object was that we wanted the Government to think. "Why was all this done"—I asked Mr. Ross Alston—he knows me from my boyhood, I told him—"look at me—I who had a large number of English friends—I who was a Government servant for 17 years in the Superior Grade of the Opium Dept. in which there are very few Indians, I am still on the pension list, though I do not draw the pension. I have friends among

Englishmen, there are many Englishmen and English women who will be sorry that I have taken this attitude. But today I know none but God. I am not bitten by a mad dog—I am not insane ; I am perfectly in my senses when I make this speech. But what is it that has made me this? How is it that we have come to this pass? I know I am making an incoherent speech ; but it is my heart that is speaking—I am opening out my heart before you. But how is it that we have come to this pass?—we who were *Khosamudis* (flatterers) of this Government. What has happened to us? How is it we who were so much against the Hindus and the Congress are so much forward than even Hindus in general? I asked Mr. Ross Alston this question when I met him today. He said that an English Officer only last night asked him the same question about my brother. Well I am perfectly willing to make peace with anybody, to make friends with the Hindus, with the Christians, with any man, whatever nationality he may belong to and so long as he do not mean any harm to my country or to my religion, I am perfectly willing to do so. Gentlemen, looking at my big size, I look terrible—I look like an awful ruffian, you would not like to meet me in a dark lane at 12 at night. Looking at my heavy body you will not judge me, I pray. I was a great swimmer. I was a good boxer, I was one of the best bats (cricketers) in India : for nine months in the year I used to be in camp walking a happy careless fellow. And yet

to-day, I make as a confession that my religion demands, my country demands all I have—I am obliged to throw away my personal feelings—I have thrown in my lot for my God and for my country ; and I am now in the service of God.

Somebody said something about my home in Moradabad. The Public Prosecutor asked Mr. Lakhte Hussain, who said that I had a house and lived there. I think he did not tell a lie intentionally. But I may tell you at once that we have no house there. As I cannot go to Rampur, so whenever my mother wants to see me or I want to see her, I go to my cousin, who has got a house at Moradabad and she comes there and meets us.

People say that there is no want of toleration in this country ; but I should like to tell you why I and my brother are not allowed to go home at Rampur. During the time of the Mutiny my father saved the lives of many Englishmen and Englishwomen. He was then the right hand man of the Nawab of Rampur and he had received a big *Jaigir* as reward for his loyal services. My father got a share out of it, and so did we though we have sold all our share in the *Jaigir*, when we were interned in the Betul Jail, to defray our expenses. Thank God that we have done with it and nothing is left. And I may tell you that we have never been unfaithful to the Prince—we have never been traitors. This is my family tradition. The Nawab of Rampur personally has the greatest affection for me. He respects us. But one day

when we came back to our home after our release after we had dined with him His Highness said—"A few days ago Sir Harcourt Butler sent for my Chief Secretary and he said that "Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali give us a lot of trouble ; do ask them to give up what really meant the Khilafat cause." And he said—"You have to give up this work or go out of Rampur". I said—Sir Harcourt Butler himself can do it—there are plenty of Regulations—they sent us under Regulation 3 of 1818 to jail—well he can do it even now but why should you? we have done no political work in Rampur—we have only come to our home for rest and comfort. Why should your Highness do this dirty work for him?" He said—"I cannot help it. You must choose either to give up the work or go out of Rampur". And that is why I rented a house at Moradabad as a sort of Rest-house. We have not rented a house there that we may send out those writings from there. I do not want to prove it. You may take it from me if you like. That kind of work is not our style.

But I think when our Central Khilafat Committee, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and all other people decided and ordered us to actively carry out this Non-co-operation propaganda and when thousands of workers are actively carrying on this propaganda, God willing, it will reach tens of thousands of Subedars, thousands and thousands of soldiers—it will reach every Muslim soldier—it will

reach every Hindu soldier—there will be tens of thousands of workers working everywhere—in every village—in every town—there would be thousands of females working ; you cannot wrap up these soldiers in cotton wool—you cannot shut these soldiers up in a glass case only, for they have got to go to their homes—they have got their relatives and friends—we shall approach every sepoy—we shall approach him in every possible way—his mother will speak to him—his wife will speak to him—our ladies have thrown off their veil—my mother will go to them—my brother's wife will go to them—my daughters will go to them—our women will go to them and give them the message of God. Even if we are punished, they will do it. How can you stop that? But still, even now up to 31st December, there is every chance of a reconciliation. If there is no reconciliation—settlement before 31st December, then you will see—you (pointing the Judge) will not be there where you are now—the power what is in your hands we will snatch it—God willing, we will do it. We have strength enough, we have the power of self-sacrifice. We have the power of suffering. We have got the power of organisations and brains. Our country is powerful—it is strong and it can work after itself. Whatever you decide personally it is nothing to me. I am ready for everything. I am told there is a man-of-war sent from Colombo to take us somewhere. Well, I shall be very happy in jail—I am still gaining in

weight, my brother is also improving. So it is not a question of any thing personal to me or to him.

One thing more and I shall have done. After all, you would like to know why this prosecution has been started. I would like to tell you and the whole world—(interrupted by the Court).

Maulana Shaukat Ali, continuing, said—there is a vast difference between Mahatma Gandhi and myself. He belongs to the party of God's good people, I belong to God's *badmashes*; Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Hussain Ahmad and Maulana Abdul Bari are God's good subjects, and I and the large number of Hindus and Mahomedans—we are God's *badmashes*. Thank God we belong to God. But we trust Mahatma Gandhi and he trusts us. The Mussalmans and the Hindus have now united and every possible effort has been made and is being made to part us. If you read the pro-Government newspapers you will find somebody says, Mahatma Gandhi is a saint, that he is a good man but that his meeting with these ferocious people, the wicked Muanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, who are in touch with the Afghans and in the pay of the Turks and that Mahatma Gandhi is nothing but so much of clay in their hands. Other says Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali are very simple and straightforward, it is the wily Bania of Ahmedabad, it is to ruin them and the Mussalmans.

It was said that the Ali brothers had apologised he who won over these Mussalmans and he is going

to Government. When Mahatmaji and myself met at Allahabad in May last, we heard that Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the peace-maker. He sent a message that the Viceroy would like to see Mahatma Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi went to see him at Simla. He went because you know he is always willing to step forward because he does not want bloodshed and we too, do not want bloodshed so long as there is hope of success by means of Non-violent Non-co-operation. So he went to Simla and had six interviews, lasting sixteen hours, with the Viceroy, and Mahatma Gandhi sent us a wire to me and my brother to meet him at Khandwa. I was busy ; so my brother went and met him. Mahatma Gandhi said that there is an impression outside among friends and others that you (Mahomed and Shaukat Ali) mean violence though you make a declaration to the world that you stand for non-violence.. And he told all about the talk he had with the Viceroy. Mahatma Gandhi wanted us to make a statement to the people of India. He was very earnest about it. He said that he wanted us to go to jail but only on a clear issue and he himself wanted to do the same. So I and my brother issued a statement that we do not mean violence while talking of non-violence.

You know, gentlemen, day and night for days and months, I have been working for the success of non-violent non-co-operation. And thanks be to God, tremendous changes are going to take place. India is marching with hundred banged boots on, : with

thousands and thousands of new recruits consecrated to the cause of the country and religion. India to-day is something new, and to-morrow she will be a newer thing altogether. There was one disease that Indians suffered from. Thanks to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, they have shaken that off. We, Indians, were deemed as cowards. God be thanked, nobody can say that now. The history of India is being shaped in a new fashion. So we obeyed Mahatma Gandhi's order and sent that message to the Press. Gentlemen, I may tell you if we meant it for the Government of India the Government of India ought to have been chivalrous enough to make peace with us. They would have said—'Well, when even the Ali brothers have put in the statement it is easy for us to sit on a round table conference.' But this was not to be done. We were ridiculed, Mahatma Gandhi was ridiculed and the whole host of the Anglo Indian Press came upon us. And I am sorry our co-workers in jail were told that we had apologised to Government. Well, I could see there was no change of heart in Government, even in the Viceroy. We were told he was a very suave and persuasive man. He and his Government wanted to discredit us in the eyes of the Muslims. They wanted to discredit us in the eyes of the Hindus—they wanted to discredit us in the eyes of the world and we were said to be as the Leader said, 'Ali Brothers were as bad as a door nail'.

However, I am very glad indeed—I am very

happy indeed—that this time the issue is very clear. I want your decision—I want the decision of the Judge—whatever it may be, thank God, that before this our message could not reach the army as we might have wished, but by this prosecution it has reached every one of them—it has reached every home—every Mussalman—every Hindu—every Indian—man and woman. New workers are coming out and I am not afraid that there will be any dearth of them. Gentlemen, I leave everything to God. Personally, I do not care,—jail or no jail. I want to tell you that all the gifts God has given me,—every power, every little thing that I can do, and all that lies in my power—I will do for my God and for my country so long as this Government to which you belong—so long as this Government to which this Court belongs—does not do justice to Khilafat, does not satisfy us, give us back the power of Khilafat, does not satisfy us about the Punjab wrong, and does not give us Swaraj—all that lies in my power I will do, and, God willing, we will uproot you altogether. To-day I am a Non-violent Non-co-operator ; to-morrow if, God forbid, Mahatma Gandhi fails, if the country fails, I shall do whatever lies in my power. Thank God, we have got the courage, we have got the strength, we have learned the value of suffering and sacrifice and we will do whatever our great chief Mahatma Gandhi will ask us to do. God willing we will face all danger, face death with eyes front. (Here the Maulana was returning when

friends reminded him about some verses, he turned back and said.) Gentlemen, I want to say one thing more. Thousands of speeches I have made, attended hundreds of meetings but when I am pleased and when the feeling comes in me and there is nothing to do I sing though I am not a singer. In jail now when I am locked up in my cell I recite the following four verses :

(“We will follow neither the greatest lover Kais nor Ferhad.....we will invent a newer kind of madness of our own.)

(“They give their lives on your tyranny, they die on your cruelty. It is really these careless failed lovers who in truth do something great.)

(“The cruelty and tyranny practised on the lover and in love is no cruelty. If there was no cruelty in love, there would be no pleasure in love, and lastly though I hope there will be no need for it.)

(“The sky—stars—enemy of lovers—has not really come in contact with one having fire in his heart. Well ; don't call me Dagh (great poet's name) if I don't burn the whole into ashes.)

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